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WHY WOMEN DO NOT WANT THE BALLOT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

WHETHER we like it or not, the question of giving the ballot to women is a question to be faced. From the last Legislature of the State of New York favorable action was secured on the proposal to submit to popular vote the omission of the word "male" from the qualification of voters in the Constitution. This is of course only tentative and preliminary. Another Legislature must pass the law before it can be submitted to the people. But it behooves men and women who are opposed to it to be awake to the duty of hindering its further progress. And it is quite worth while to note how this first step was secured.

The story of the action of the Constitutional Convention upon this subject is familiar. The proposal, backed by monster petitions, was brought to the Convention at a very early day. With praiseworthy and untiring perseverance, its advocates fairly swarmed in the Capitol. Hearing after hearing was given, and the button-holes of members were absolutely worn out by the persistence of personal appeals. The committee to which it was referred was a large, able, and intelligent committee. Hours, both of day and night, were given to the public arguments, including a single hearing (the only one asked for) of the representatives on the other side. And after due and thorough delib-

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eration, an adverse report was made by the committee, which was, after full debate, accepted by a large majority vote. It is certainly not too much to say that such a decision, reached after such deliberations, in such a body, has and ought to have the greatest weight.

The opposite result last winter was reached in a very different way. The movement upon the Legislature was cleverly planned, and quietly executed by personal influence and appeal, with no hearing whatever in the Assembly, and with only one hearing in the Senate, held after the whole matter was known to be a foregone conclusion; a sufficient number of votes having been secured by personal pledges to make the passage of the bill sure. This is a well-known method among politicians, which hardly rises to the level of high-minded statesmanship. If it indicates the kind of political manipulation likely to be adopted, in caucuses and at the polls, in popular assemblies and legislative halls, by what is commonly called the "new" woman or the "coming" woman, it will certainly induce most thinking people to feel that "the old is better," and to be thankful that yet awhile, at any rate, the new woman has not *come*. I think I am hardly betraying any confidence in repeating the argument of a famous suffragist leader, tried upon Mr. Choate before his election as President of the Constitutional Convention. "I hear you are to be President of the Constitutional Convention," she said. "Possibly," "If you are, you will have the appointment of committees?" "Undoubtedly." "If you do, I want you to appoint on the committee to consider woman's suffrage, a majority of members known to be in favor of it." "But," he said, "supposing I find in the Convention a large majority opposed to it, could I make up a committee with a majority of its members in favor?" "No" she said: "I suppose you could not, but that is what *we want*." And all through the management of this campaign the appeal has been made, backed often by no other argument than "we want it," to the gallantry of a man towards a woman.

It seems important, in view of the renewed effort in Albany this coming winter, to appeal to the sober-minded thought of men and women; to omit rhetoric, oratory, abuse, misrepresentation, and ask for a serious consideration of a subject, certainly fraught with grave and serious consequences; for anything that touches the ballot touches the foundations of government.

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Among the difficulties which beset the whole question now are the indifference and listlessness, or the frivolity and trifling with which in too many instances it is regarded. Many a man says: "Oh! let the experiment be tried; it cannot succeed; it will do no harm to pay women the courtesy of this complimentary vote, and then defeat it at the polls." But this is an experiment too much like playing with fire to be safe. Once granted, it can never be recalled. And the risk of random voting on matters of such importance is too great to be run. Many a woman opposed to the measure feels that the whole thought of signing petitions, and having her name printed, and appealing to the Legislature, is so distasteful to her, that she would prefer to take the chance of probable failure. Meanwhile, the advocates pile up petitions, and multiply unmeaning names. Many a man trifles with his responsibility, under the silly idea that it is ungallant to say "*No*" to a woman. And many a woman laughs at the whole matter as a joke, mixed up with bicycles and bloomers, and a number of other trivial questions which have no remotest relation to the principle involved.

Let us look fairly and squarely at the facts. There is one class of women to be eliminated from the discussion, because they fly into a "frenzy" which is not "fine," mistake abuse for argument, and are only vulgarly violent, with sharp tongues or sharper pens saturated with bitterness and venom. They are, if there were *only* such as these, their own best answerers, furnishing sufficient reason against the movement. There is another class which includes members of both sexes, with whom one cannot deal without sacrificing self-respect or reverence, who revile all that one holds in holiest veneration, Holy Scripture, holy Matrimony, St. Paul, even our dear Lord Himself. How reverent and religious women can cast their lot in with a cause which has this drift in it is inconceivable; and yet some of them do so. One has neither need nor desire to make reply to such as these. They may be safely left, when the sediment has gathered at the bottom, and shows through the quietness of the settled surface, to their own condemnation.

But the cause has among its adherents and advocates a very different class of women and men, to whose sober second thought it is worth while to appeal, and against whose specious but sincere reasonings others need to be warned and guarded. It is

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because of these, and of their reasonings, that this paper is written. It is not intended to argue the underlying principles of the case, which have been argued abundantly already, but only to assert them.

1. Suffrage is not a right of anybody. It is a privilege granted by the constitution to such persons as the framers of the constitution and the founders of the government deem best.

2. The old political proverb, "No taxation without representation," is utterly inapplicable to this question. It grew out of the tyrannical action of a government "across the sea," in which no one of all the people on whom the tax was levied had the faintest voice in the framing of the laws or in the choice of the government. We may be said to have in this country a great deal of representation without taxation, because, in thousands of instances, voters, and indeed the very men who impose the tax, own no property at all. But women who are taxed *are* represented by their relatives, by their potent influence, and by men's sense of justice, amounting even to chivalry, which the woman suffragists are doing all they can to destroy, but which has secured to them far more protection, far more independent control of their property, than men have reserved to themselves. The complement and object of taxation is not the right to vote, but the protection of property. And women's property is better protected than men's.

3. Equality does not mean identity of duties, rights, privileges, occupations. The sex differences are proof enough of this. The paths in which men and women are set to walk are parallel, but not the same. And the equilibrium of society cannot be maintained, nor the equipoise of the body, unless this is recognized. As St. Paul put it forcibly long ago: "If the whole body were hearing, where were the smelling?" Over-stocked professions, men and women crowding each other in and out of occupation, neglected duties, responsibilities divided until they are destroyed, must be the result if this unnatural idea be enforced.

4. The theory of increased wages for women, to be secured by giving votes to women-workers, is equally preposterous. Wages, like work, are regulated by the unfailing law of supply and demand. Work cannot be created, and wages cannot be forced up. If there are too many workers there will be less employment and lower pay.

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These are some of the fundamental and axiomatic truths of the argument.

It is important, too, to guard against the specious method of mixing up things that have no relation to each other. A man or a woman who opposes the forcing of the ballot upon women is classed with the people who dislike female bicyclists and the bloomer costume—questions of taste about which we may differ, but which lie upon the lower plane of æsthetics. The unattractiveness of an ugly dress or an ungraceful movement may repel a man's feelings and lessen the charm of a woman, but there it ends. Women may ride bicycles and wear bloomers without violating any political principle, provided they neither ride *on* the one, nor walk *in* the other, to the polls.

It is still more important to draw another distinction. The slavery of American women exists only in the warped imaginations and heated rhetoric of a few people, who have screamed themselves hoarse upon platforms or written themselves into a rage in newspapers. There is no freer human being on earth to-day, thank God, than the American woman. She has freedom of person, of property, and of profession, absolute and entire. She has all liberty that is not license.

Let a woman tell the facts. I quote from one of Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer's admirable papers in the New York *World:*

"For more than thirty years all the women of New York have been able to enjoy their own property, whether inherited or acquired, without control or interference from any man. A married woman may carry on a trade, business, or profession and keep her earnings for herself alone. She may sue and be sued and make contracts as freely and independently as an unmarried woman or a man. She may sell or transfer her real as well as her personal property just as she chooses. And she is not liable for her husband's debts or obliged to contribute to his support. Meanwhile, a husband is obliged to support his wife and children. He is liable for the price of all 'necessaries' purchased by her, and for money borrowed by her for their purchase; and 'necessaries' are liberally construed as 'commensurate with her husband's means, her wonted living as his spouse, and her station in the community.'

"A man who obtains a divorce cannot ask for alimony; a woman who obtains one is entitled to it, and to continue to receive it even if she remarries. A woman in business cannot be arrested in an action for a debt fraudulently contracted, as a man may be. Every woman enjoys certain exemptions from the sale of her property under execution, but only a man who has and provides for a household or family is exempt in the same way. A woman is entitled to one-third of her husband's real estate at his death, and cannot be deprived of it by will; and no real estate can be sold by him dur- his lifetime unless she signs off this dower right. A husband's right to a

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portion of his wife's property begins only after the birth of a living child, and even then she need not have his consent to sell it during her lifetime, and may deprive him of it altogether by will."

While one "forbears threatenings," it is worth while to wonder whether this would go on if the relations of the sexes to each other were changed. Courtesies that are compelled by law would soon become onerous. Instincts that were required by statute would become irksome, until they were laid aside. A man jostled at the polls and in the primary meetings would be less inclined to step aside or stand up elsewhere to give a woman place.

The almost uniform method of confusing questions, resorted to so constantly in the attacks of the woman suffragists, must be protested against to the end. Giving a woman the ballot has nothing whatever to do with her higher education, with her choice of occupations, with the part she may take in the discussion of public questions, or with her share in the administration of public interests. Along the lines of their distinctive ability, and in the ways of their natural adaptation, no sane man questions the wisdom and the duty of the highest education for women, of the freest following out of their vocations, of the importance of their intelligent knowledge, and the value of their expressed opinions in great moral and social public questions, and of their capacity in certain offices of responsibility, duty and trust.

So far as to principles, and fairness of methods in argument. And now for the appeal to serious men and women, for the serious consideration of this most serious question. The appeal is rightly made, first, in behalf of the women of America who are earnestly opposed to the imposition upon them of a burden which, from their point of view, not only is *not* a duty, but *is* an evil; not only not a right, but actually a wrong. It is very easy, by the process that is sometimes called "counting noses," to say that this is a matter of minorities, and that majorities must rule. But, like many other arguments in favor of this cause, the statement is based upon the "take-things-for-granted" plan. Given a large body of earnest agitators (some of them paid agents who live by the agitation), and everybody knows that numberless signatures may be obtained to a petition for almost anything—names of indifferent, unintelligent, brow-beaten and button-holed people, who sign rather than argue, and assent in the spirit of

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lazy complaisance, rather than offend the asker by refusing. Such signatures mean nothing, although they swell the number into a more than millenary petition, and make it more or less miles long. Not for a moment disputing the fact that some of the names stand for intelligence and intention, for conviction and conscience, that they represent education, social position, tax-paying interest, I claim, from my own large and long experience, that, in any community with which I am acquainted, the most serious, intelligent, cultivated women, with the largest money interest in the government, and the most quiet, thoughtful, earnest women, are, conscientiously and on clear convictions, opposed to woman suffrage. I insist that it is a wrong to force such women to the alternative of going to the polls, against their instincts and their convictions, *or* of allowing the unthinking majority of votes to be enlarged by the ballots of women carried away by a theory, or influenced by a desire for power. What the result would be is matter of conjecture; but my conviction is that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to bring the great mass of really intelligent and responsible women to vote, against their ingrained habits, their instincts, their inclinations, and their judgments. And it is important to stop and consider what that means. The old proverb applies here of the horse dragged to the water, which cannot be made to drink. Legislation may be secured that will say to every woman: "You *shall* have the privilege of voting"; but, after all, it means only "may," and you cannot put the verb into the imperative and say: "You *shall* vote."

There are two factors of grave danger in the political issues and elections of America. First of all, the religious question, which, guard it as we will, crops up from time to time, in appropriations to charities or schools or religious organizations, or in fanatical fury against some form of religious order and belief. There have been two noted instances, at least, in which the danger has been shadowed forth in the arraying of Protestants against Roman Catholics. In one case, the violent stirring up of Protestant women about a school question produced an angry contest, in which the Protestants carried the day; while in the other, after a careful canvass, quietly made among Protestant women, the summons of a single Roman priest mustered a force of female voters, always liable to be controlled by clerical direction, which carried the day for Rome. And the dregs and debris

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of the contest were bitter and wretched to a degree. It is to the infinite honor of women that they are more quickly interested, more keenly concerned, and more deeply influenced in their religious feelings and convictions than men. But it adds to the wrong and horror of allowing religion to be dragged into politics, if, on one side or the other, a great body of voters could be wielded by any religious or ecclesiastical influence to decide the question and carry the day.

The other factor, known and read of all men, is the venal voter—the man whose ballot is for sale to the highest bidder. The possession of the ballot has not purified the male voter from the heinous sin of a sold vote. Why should it purify the woman? It is a well-known fact that, in all our large cities, there is a great body of women who sell themselves, soul and body. It is idle to stop and say that men are responsible for this horror. I have no desire to screen men. I believe the man who sins against purity is before God a sinner equally with the woman. But the fact stands that a woman who will sell her purity, her honor, her reputation, herself, will sell anything. And in the city of New York, with its fifty thousand fallen women, there is this enormous and awful possibility of a vote that might turn the tide of any election, purchasable by the highest bidder, who would naturally use his disreputable bargain for disreputable and dangerous ends. By some strange confusion of infantile innocence, unimaginable ignorance of facts, or malicious interpretation of words, men who have called attention to this danger have been accused of insulting their wives and mothers, or of implying that Mrs. Cady Stanton or Miss Anthony would sell her vote. But this sort of answer is only the action of the cuttle-fish which hides its method of escape, or the dust of the fleeing animal which blinds the eyes of its pursuer. The hideous fact of the number of degraded and venal women remains. The awful fact of venal voters among men remains; and of the equally criminal class of political go-betweens, who spend the money of candidates and corporations in these most illegitimate "election expenses." And the possibility and probability of the increase of a corrupted ballot giving, in a close election, the balance of power, secured by a purchase of the votes of women lost to all sense of shame, follows as an immediate and inevitable danger.

It is constantly urged that women voters would be more con-

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scientious and careful than men are, would be always on the side of reform, would advance the interests of temperance and of all great moral and social movements. But, in the first place, this is purely prophetic, without the inspiration of prophecy. It is mere guess-work. To reach a real conclusion through an imaginary premiss is illogical to the last degree. There are, perhaps in smaller proportion, bad women as well as bad men, intemperate women, ignorant women. In the comparisons usually made by the advocates of woman's suffrage, it is always the virtuous and intelligent woman who is contrasted with the ignorant and unprincipled man. The fact is, that to multiply suffrage means to multiply *every kind of vote* by two, and while it would mean an increase of votes cast on principle and for principle, it would also mean an increase of unprincipled votes against the best interests of society. It is greatly to be doubted whether politics, either in its methods or in its results, would be purified in this way. The giving of the ballot to men has not improved either the morals or the responsibility of men. Why should it make women more moral or more responsible? Voting, after all, is to a large degree *by* parties and *for* individuals, and there is no such violence of partizanship in the world as the violence of female partizanship. No one who has heard a good "Primrose League lady" in England abuse Mr. Gladstone will question this. And the condition of feeling in the South during and since the war is a painful evidence of it. It was the women of the South who fanned the flame of secession, who forced the continuance of the hopeless strife, and who to-day, where there is any spirit of out-and-out sectionalism, are the unrelenting, unforgetting, unforgiving Southerners. This relation of the Southern women to the war is a serious note of warning, in another direction, about "the woman in politics." There can be no doubt that women in the South knew more, thought more, felt more, talked more about politics than the women of the North. And what was the result and effect of their intelligent interest? Slavery and the slave laws, with all their frightful possibilities, maintained in the time of peace, and sectionalism run mad when the opportunity for the war came!

There are two other considerations which cannot be omitted in the study of this subject, the family relation, and the relation between men and women in the world. To-day, in the household, the man is the voter. Suppose the wife becomes a voter

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too. She will either reproduce her husband's political views, and there would be in one house *two* Democratic voters, and in another *two* Republican voters, where there had been one. And this is no gain towards a decision of questions. It is only a multiplying of ballots, producing no change of results. Or else the wife would take the opposite side from her husband's, and, instantly, with all the heat and violence of party differences and political disagreements, a bone of contention is introduced into the home; a new cause of dissension and alienation is added to the already strained relations in many families. Then there is the question of mistress and maid. Shall the cook leave her kitchen to cast a vote, which shall counterbalance the vote of the mistress, or shall the employer undertake to control the politics of the "kitchen cabinet"? And all this, not merely on the voting day, or in the deposit of the ballot, but the weeks before and after the election are to be spent in the heat of discussion, or in the smart of defeat. The American home is not too sacred and secure to-day to make it safe to undermine it with the explosive materials of politics and partisanship. And meanwhile, as things are now, the intelligent woman, interested in some great measure of reform, has in her hand, not the ability to rival, offset, or double her husband's vote, but the power of her persuasion, her affection, her ingenuity, to influence it. It would be incredible, if it were not shown to be true, that any large number of thinking and intelligent beings, knowing, feeling, using, this tremendous power, should be willing to run the risk of losing it, by substituting a thing far lower and feebler in its stead. And with the experience of what she has gained for her sex, with the evidence of what voting men have brought about for her under the influence of non-voting women, and through solicitude for their interests, the rashness of this proposed experiment defies description.

It is perfectly idle to imagine that the relation between men and women in the outside world can remain the same when their attitude to each other is so entirely changed. With women mingling in the rough strifes and contests of political life, and assuming positions and duties hitherto unknown to them, there will inevitably come the quenching of that chivalrous feeling of men towards women, born of the protection hitherto expected by women and afforded by men, which is the inspiring cause of so

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large a part of the amenities of life and the politeness of manners. And yet, just because woman is physically weak, and man physically strong, there will be no change in the real necessities of things. One may well look with grave anxiety at what is really *a revolution of* the natural order, utterly unable to conjecture what the results may be when women shall have become, not only *votresses*, but legisla*tresses*, mayor*esses*, and alder*women*. It is the favorite habit of women arguing this cause to deal with it as though woman's suffrage were an *evolution*. But it cannot fairly be considered as, in any way, a progress along the line of that steady advance in the power and position of women, which has been wrought out by Christian civilization. It would not be progress, it would be retrogression. And it is not the least after the manner of growth and improvement in the character, the education, or the opportunities of women. It is a new departure; an entire digression; a violent change, and the appeal of this article is in a way "from Philip drunk to Philip sober." Certain women have said so loudly, and so often, that they are "enslaved," "reduced to a level with idiots," "classed with criminals," "deprived of natural rights," "down-trodden and oppressed," that they have really come to believe it and to make some sensible people believe it. I trust that wiser counsels may in the end prevail. Meanwhile, inasmuch as the active agitators for this radical revolution in the very fundamental elements of government, have resorted to every known means to secure their ends, I cannot but feel, that, however the other women may shrink from the publicity, it is their bounden duty by influence, by argument, by petition, to "fight fire with fire"; to see to it that, in the approaching elections for the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, men shall be chosen who will defend them from this wrong; and when the elections are completed, to let it be known and felt in Albany that what some women claim as a political right, they consider a personal grievance and a public harm.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE BLUE-JACKET.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

IT IS to be observed of all pictures representing the Arctic regions, that they are seldom true to nature: and this because it is always the exceptional, and never the ordinary, scene that is painted. In every part of the picture we have the icebergs running up with fantastic peaks and pinnacles, developing into graceful arches and airy columns. It is not to be said that such natural freaks are absent from every Arctic scene, but it is that they give a character to few Arctic scenes. Thus the ordinary aspect of the ice is scarcely picturesque, and something like a dull monotony of form characterizes the real iceberg.

I think that most probably what is true of the pictures we have of the Arctic regions is also true of those we have of the blue-jacket who won our battles for us in past times. What was picturesque, odd, eccentric, and therefore rare, about him was selected to give character to the scene, so that the extraordinary, instead of the ordinary, blue-jacket is the type of which we have the greatest knowledge. It has often struck me as a curious anomaly that Dibdin's songs were never sung by the blue-jackets of my early days, that is, the days of nearly fifty years ago. They had songs of their own—the "fore-bitter" of sixty or seventy verses, with a roaring chorus at the end of each; or the sentimental solo describing the joys of wandering by river sides and in soft, green meadows with the maiden of your choice; or, less frequently, the broad comic song, scarcely of a drawing room character. I reconciled the fact to my sense of the fitness of things by reflecting that Dibdin's blue-jacket was most probably a stage sort of character, interesting to the lay mind of England, but altogether unrepresentative of the real thing and rejected by the real thing for this reason.

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There are not wanting here and there direct proofs of my view. I have among my books a curious and rare pamphlet, written at the very beginning of this century, descriptive of the inner life of a man-of-war of the day. It is in the form of dialogue. A Member of Parliament becomes the guest of the captain for a short cruise, and he carries on a conversation with the officers as the ship passes through a variety of situations, including, if I rightly recollect, getting ashore, and experiencing an alarm of fire on board. The Member never ceases to express his surprise at the misrepresentations current on shore as to the character and conduct of "the guardians of the deep," as they were to be seen in their floating houses. Everything the Member sees and hears shows order, discipline, temperance, delicacy of language—he never heard an oath—and kindliness of thought and demeanor. If, again, we turn from hypothesis to reality, and remember the extraordinary good health which prevailed in the fleet under Nelson's command throughout his long and monotonous blockade of Toulon, it is hardly possible to associate it with the belief that his men were the rollicking, drunken (that is, much more so than society of the day), reckless creatures that have been popularly painted.

I, personally, am confirmed in my view from my own experience. I never served in a ship where there were not a few representatives of the picturesque but unmanageable devilry which has been handed down to us as the common character of the blue-jacket; and if I were to paint the general aspect of the crew in the colors proper to the exceptions, I should show that the blue-jacket of 1850 was a true descendant of him of 1800. I doubt not that at the time I write there are on board many of our ships specimens, probably very few in number, of the traditional type. But no one now would write about them or draw attention to their eccentricities as having in them anything to be amused at, still less to admire. Public opinion, on the lower deck as elsewhere, has changed its view of these things. Doubtless a blue-jacket, in the gradations from perfect sobriety to perfect drunkenness, does and says pretty nearly the same things now that he did and said ninety years ago. Fifty, forty, twenty years ago, perhaps, the comic side of the case would have been seen, and would have predominated in the minds of onlookers; now men would regard the case, not in its immediate, but in its future aspect. The

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beginning of the drunkard's life, with all the horror and misery of it which was to come, would now be the dominating thought, and the idea of anything comic would be an impossible association. And so with any other variation from a fair standard of sensible conduct and morality. We may find it, but it no longer bears a picturesque appearance. No popular writer would speak of it as a necessary concomitant of loyal courage, in all cases to be excused, if not to be regarded with affectionate pity.

So, perhaps, it is this way with the evolution of the blue-jacket. Perhaps we should find that his main characteristics are unchanged and unchangeable; that there always was and always will be a minority with qualities eccentric and striking which were once thought to be picturesque and inherent in a "jolly tar," but which were really excrescences that time and enlightenment have worn away, so that now the minority is infinitesimal.

The blue-jacket, in short, always was what circumstances made him, and he always will be so. Most of the blue-jacket's surroundings have immensely changed in the course of this century; some of them it is impossible to change. His character has obeyed the impulses forced upon it.

It is too early yet to understand fully what the change from sail to steam may effect in the bluejacket's physique, but the change for the majority cannot be so great as might be inferred. A proportion of the blue-jackets of any fully rigged ship were necessarily athletes. The "upper yardmen" in a line-of-battle-ship or a frigate were exceptional men in this way, and much more so, perhaps, just about the time that sail power was receiving its death warrant than ever before. These young men had to race aloft to nearly the highest points, at top speed, eight or ten times a week when the ship was in harbor; to keep their heads and maintain their breath while "holding on by their eyelids," as the phrase went, and manipulating with a careful and measured order of action the various and intricate arrangements for "crossing" or "sending down" the royal and top-gallant yards. It was all done at full speed, for it was universally held that the upper yardmen gave a character to the whole ship; and that one which was foremost in this exercise was ever considered "the smartest ship in the fleet." These upper yardmen were always the coming men. They had most opportunities for distinguishing themselves, were the best known, and were most un-

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der the eye of the authorities. They developed great muscular power in chest, shoulders and arms. Their lower extremities suffered, and one always knew the men who had been upper yardmen by their tadpole-like appearance when they were bathing.

But in the modern steam line-of-battle-ship and frigate these extremely athletic specimens formed a very small minority of the "ship's company," and none of them could lose his turn at being upper yardman so long as the ship's reputation depended on the speed with which the upper yards were crossed and sent down. In harbor the rest of the blue-jackets had the handling of yards and sails for exercise once or twice a week, but at sea the use of sails for propulsion grew less and less important, and most of the work aloft was more of an exercise and less of a necessity.

I am not at all sure that the year 1800 produced even the minority of athletes which our upper yard system was famous for in 1860. Any one examining the logs of any blockading fleet about the end of last century, can scarcely doubt the fact. The ships as a rule were kept under extremely low sail and were for days and days under the same sail, the "evolutions" being confined to "tacking" or "wearing," "per signal," five or six times in the twenty-four hours-manœuvres which called for little work aloft. "It blew so much harder in the days of the war," that double or even treble reefs in the topsails were found co-existent with the ready passage of boats from ship to ship. There was then no such thing as "sail drill," the actual necessities of cruising being held all sufficient. Even in my own time, I have noted that the training of a minority of athletes was the work of steam, and that the exercises aloft by a sailing fleet, such as Sir Wm. Parker commanded in the forties, were a small matter compared to those instituted in the "Marlborough" under the splendid auspices of the present Admirals, Sir Wm. Martin, Sir Houston Stewart and Sir Thomas Brandreth in the sixties.

But however all this may be, there has been for a couple of centuries a body of men serving afloat, second to none as loyal fighting men, with whom it was a traditional privilege that they could not be ordered "above the hammock-nettings." Since the earliest times the proud position of the marines was to mess and to sleep between the blue-jackets and the officers. And even now, when the loyalty of marines and blue-jackets is equal,

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and is preserved by the same means, tradition puts the marine to mess and to sleep in as good an imitation of his old place as modern naval architecture will allow. This body of men got few advantages, moral or physical from the use of sails, and so far, the marine of to-day, when sail has gone, cannot differ much from the marine of a hundred years ago.

Steam brought in a second body of men who were free from training aloft, and who by the nature of the case could hold no competition as athletes with the upper yardmen, though to some extent the nature of their work below brought the operation of mind and muscle into nearly as close an alliance as did that of the upper yardmen aloft. These men, the stokers, were so noted for their muscular power that in regattas it was generally allowed that the stoker's boats ought to win. The marine again was somewhat hampered by the general buttoned-up-ness of his dress. The stoker dressed as a seaman, and enjoyed all the splendid freedom of limb which the seaman's dress offers behind its picturesque and graceful outline.

Thus the evolution of the blue-jacket may be more direct from him of the last century than from him of the time when there was a contest between coal and wind for the right to propel and when it was not certain which would win. The blue-jacket proper has diminished in comparative number. The absence of sail has brought him towards the marine; his dress and much of his training and mode of life leave him less distinguished than heretofore from the stoker. In another way, the difference between the stoker and the blue-jacket proper is minimized. All that working in hemp and canvas; knotting, splicing, grafting, pointing, worming, sewing, tabling, and all the hundred and one manufacturing operations of the blue-jacket as a handicraftsman, have disappeared. There was a certain character about all hemp and canvas handicraftsmanship which certainly must have had its effect on the character of the handicraftsman. It was never exact work. A job might be a neat job of work or it might be a rough one, yet the work as work was equally good.

The seaman could put some of himself into the seizing of every block he stropped, into the end of every rope he pointed. That is all gone. He is not yet a mechanic; he is not yet a worker in brass and iron as he was once in hemp and canvas, but he is constantly handling mechanisms so exactly formed that

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no part of the former is left in them. There is no individuality in the things he handles; they are impassive and impersonal.

And then again he has wholly lost that sense of contention with the elements, that romantic uncertainty which lay in the doubt whether, in the sailing ship, man or nature would win in any contest. The character of a man perpetually wondering whether nature would be kind and blow him into the haven where he would be, or whether nature would he rough and give him a week's dose of treble-reefed topsails to a dead foul breeze, could not possibly embrace the same characteristics as that of him who spends his life in feeling and asserting his entire mastery over the elements, and his perfect indifference to the freaks of wind or sea.

So this, the ideality of the blue-jacket, his romance, his individualism, has been roughly assaulted by the advent of steam and the number and exactitude of the mechanisms which steam has developed, and which are the daily and hourly companions of his life afloat.

Only two sorts of work remain to the blue-jacket into which he can put his personality, or on which he can stamp his character. In as far as he makes his own clothes, washes them, and scrubs his own hammock, he is doing work which is not exact, and into which his energy, or the want of it, his fancy, or the want of it, may enter. It is to be hoped that the contractor for slop clothing may be kept as much at arm's length as possible, and that the pipe, "Scrub 'ammicks and wash clothes," may not become obsolete on the advent of some terrible inventor who proposes to do the business by steam.

But on the other hand, seaman, marine, and stoker lead on board ship now a life not differing so very much from that which their forefathers so lived. The absence of privacy; much of the crowding; the habit of doing hour by hour, like the works of a clock, hosts of disagreeable things only because some one else has ordered them to be done; all these remain to form the physique and the character, and to stamp their peculiarities on each of the three great branches of the naval service. The very long, solitary cruises of men-of-war have passed away in our own time, yet many of our smaller ships are for months isolated, cut off from all civilization except their own, when their lot is cast in distant and unfrequented parts of the world; so that whatever effect this separation had in the past is not wholly lost in the present. And,

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quite apart from everything which was or is peculiar to the blue-jacket's situation on board ship as contrasted with that of the marine and the stoker, we know for certain that ship life leaves a special stamp upon him. We know it because of the special stamp it leaves on the marine. Admittedly there are no troops in the world like the Royal Marines. Besides the peculiar steadiness and solidity which they exhibit, their capacity for making themselves comfortable under the most adverse circumstances of a campaign has long been the envy of the pure soldier. In this the blue-jacket shares equally, and the fact shows that it is inherent in ship life to produce this sort of thing, and that the change to steam has not affected it. I have had occasion to follow some of the early history of the Sherwood Foresters, late the Forty-fifth Regiment, and I have traced in it most of the characteristics now so marked in the marines. The regiment had such an extraordinarily prolonged experience of life in transports, that when several regiments were under convoy, those carrying the Forty-fifth were held up as the patterns which other regiments should copy in order, cleanliness and comfort.

But if the blue-jacket has much changed, and I think he has, generally for the better, it is law and rule that has done it and not so much physical surroundings.

Though I have said that the average is not represented in our pictures of the blue-jacket of a past age, I should paint that average, as I knew it, in sadder colors than I could now use. The average blue-jacket as I knew him long ago was always a good fellow, but you seldom knew where to have him. He was unquestionably a drunken fellow, and he used to manage to get dead drunk faster than any other class of men with whom I have been acquainted. He was not steady. Apart from his officer he seemed almost a reed shaken with the wind, though his personal courage was always lion-like when roused. He was proud of his officer, especially if the officer was hard on him. He was somewhat of a fatalist, quick to imagine that fate was against him and to give up the struggle against it. He was quarrelsome in his cups, but almost always distinctly witty out of them. He preserves his humor to the present day. A story is told of a certain "Bill" standing at the corner of a street in Natal during the Zulu war, when a certain general just landed, covered with medals and orders, and equally hung with soldierly knicknacks,

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the whistle, the field glass, the compass, the note book, etc., passed near "Bill" and his companion "Jack."

"Who's 'im, Jack?" asked Bill.

"Dunno," said Jack, "seems to be one o' them new generals just come ashore."

"H'm," returned Bill, preparing to put his pipe in his mouth again, "looks like a bloomin' Christmas tree!"

The stories about frying watches, and lighting pipes with £5 notes, give an utterly false notion of the blue-jacket. Philip, drunk, might have done such things, but not Philip, sober. Philip, sober, has always been, and is, peculiarly sharp and thrifty about money. Philip, sober, forty or fifty years ago took wonderful care of the pence, and he does so still. But forty or fifty years ago he was filled with an ignorant suspicion of every one who had to do with his money and who did not play upon his fancies. He has got over that now perhaps pretty well, but no one of his rank of life makes closer calculations or drives a better bargain than the developed blue-jacket of to-day. I think he has overdone it in not meeting Government half way on the score of his widow's pension, but he is the descendant of tradition and Rome was not built in a day.

His thrift has been in every way helped by wise legislation in the matter of naval savings banks, in the frequency of his payments, and in the facilities given him when abroad for remitting to his friends and dependents at home. To these he is almost uniformly generous. I give some figures which show both his thrift and his generosity, or care for his family.

A certain battleship, in the year 1893, with a complement of less than 500 blue-jackets, marines, and stokers, sent home by means of regular monthly allotments to relatives, dependents, and friends, more than £4,700. At odd times, as they had it to spare, they remitted a further sum of over £900. This was generous thrift, exercised toward others. If further inquiries had been made it would be shown that many of the remitters, and more of those who were not remitting, were hoarding in the savings banks. In 1892–3, 17,934 men in the navy had savings bank accounts open, and the total amount thus hoarded was £229,173, an average of more than £12 per head of depositors, or perhaps nearly £4 per head of the men serving. The sum actually put away that year was over £173,000.

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I have said that in old times he was a drunken fellow; but then we were all drunken fellows a hundred years ago. I have seen the journal of the captain of a frigate written in the West Indies during the War of Independence. He had flogged a man for drunkenness, and the man in the course of his punishment said the captain himself had been drunk a couple of days before. The man, according to the custom of those times, got another dozen. But the captain, narrating the occurrence in his journal, reflected that after all the man had spoken the truth. The wise conclusion of the captain thereon was "that he would never get drunk *on board the ship* again."

When I throw my mind back forty years to the days when I served in what was called "a twelve-gun pelter"—that is, a man-of-war brig—it seems to me as if, just outside of the midshipman's berth, which was then my domicile, there were always two or three drunken men lying on the deck with their legs in irons and their heads on wet "swabs"—bundles of rope yarns which were used in drying the decks after washing. And, showing how we then regarded such matters, it is the comic side of the scene which alone dwells in my mind. I have a remembrance of a certain Thompson, a carpenter's mate, waking up, half recovered, and prefacing a long soliloquy on the injustice of the commander in speaking of him as "the man, Thompson," by quoting Shakespeare, "Now is the winter of our discontent." Turtle, when taken on board ship as fresh meat, are laid on their backs with a wet swab under their heads. I remember a certain Lear, captain of the foretop, recognizing the similarity of his position, and in his more than half-drunken state declaring that "he did'nt want no wet swabs; he wasn't a —— turtle!"

I deem it quite possible that the blue-jacket of this date was more drunken on board his ship than was his ancestor of a century earlier. The ancestor was brought up on beer; my blue-jacket was brought up on rum. Every day he had a large wine-glass full of rum to three wine-glasses full of water at his noon-tide dinner, and again at his afternoon tea. Often he did not drink it, but handed his proportion to the messmate, whose turn it was to enjoy the glories of getting thoroughly drunk with a possible flogging to follow. The only directly repressive measure against this sort of thing was taken many years ago, when the evening basin of grog ceased to be served out. The opportunities of get-

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ting drunk on board were lessened, but those on shore were immensely increased.

In nothing was the blue-jacket of early days more unreliable than in his return from leave on shore. The thing acted and re-acted. The rarity of his visits to the land made him stay there when he got there, as long as he could. Because he was sure to over-stay, he was seldom allowed the opportunity. But the wisest of legislation cut the gordian knot. Many years ago the dwellers on the lower deck of all ranks, were classed for leave. There are "special," "privileged" and "general," "leave-men," and there are "habitual leave-breakers." The "special" leave man goes ashore almost as the officer does—whenever he wishes, and the duties of the ship admit of it. The "privileged" man goes when time is not likely to press much. The "general" leave-man only goes at stated intervals and when time does not press at all. The "habitual leave-breaker" only goes at long intervals and to test his powers of returning to time experimentally. The result, of course, is immensely increased opportunities of getting drunk on shore, but immense pressure to keep sober so as not to lose a "class" in leave, or to get a step higher in the classification. And in every ship, and always, the good lesson is working and the evolution of the blue-jacket is towards sobriety and reliability.

There are in every ship some total abstainers. Those who look for a new heaven and a new earth as the outcome of total abstention may be inclined to regard them as stars in the firmament. But generally speaking, I think I am right in saying that the executive officers do not know who, amongst the well-behaved and the exemplars on the lower deck are total abstainers, and who are moderate drinkers. Most naval officers reckon more with the ill effect of broken vows, than with the good effect of vows that are kept. They do not favor the teetotal propaganda, and believe more fully in that which they see; namely, the silent growth of that public opinion on the lower deck which has for so many years been dominant on the quarter-deck.

What shall we say of the courage and loyalty of the present blue-jacket? We may say then there never was greater trial of it than was recently made in the Soudan, and it never had a more magnificant triumph. All the blue-jackets' fighting of late has been on shore, and probably there are no light troops in

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the world such as those we land from our ships. Speed of movement, steadiness, reliability, daring of the highest quality, are all there, and evolution in this respect has been towards perfection.

What again of his loyalty and discipline? There is in this respect no difference now between the seaman and the marine. Both are long-service men generally looking forward to their pensions. Both have a great stake in the success and maintenance of the naval service. Discipline for these reasons seldom requires the iron hand. The causes which differentiated the officer from the man have to some extent ceased to operate. The man feels, as the officer has longer felt, that he is the subject of law and not of personal will. He is more ready than he was to fill his place in the general machinery.

But I hope I am wrong in apprehending a possible danger. If personal interest alone had been the guide of the naval officer, England would scarcely be where she is. The sentiment of loyalty, and of the grandeur of self-sacrifice for a cause, have made the British naval officer what self-interest alone could never have made him. There have been some signs that on the lower deck this sentiment does not wax. The discipline and loyalty based upon self-interest and utilitarianism may be perfect in appearance and yet incapable of bearing a strain. If anything of the trades-union spirit should invade our lower decks, there might be danger in it.

P. H. Colomb.

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REMINISCENCES OF PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

BY SIR WILLIAM H. FLOWER, K. C. B., F. R. S., DIRECTOR OF THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

THERE is no intention in this paper of giving either a biographical notice of Professor Huxley or an estimate of his position in science, philosophy or literature. Both have been done over and over again in numerous journals and magazines that have appeared since his death. The main facts of his career, and his great contributions to human knowledge, must be perfectly familiar to the readers of this REVIEW. I have, however, in response to an appeal from the Editor, put down a few personal reminiscences, gathered during a friendship of nearly forty years, which may throw some additional light upon the character and private life of one in whom all English speaking people must take a deep interest. In doing this I fear I have been obliged to introduce myself to the notice of the reader more frequently than I should wish, but this seems inevitable in an article of this nature, and I trust will be forgiven for the sake of the main subject.

When Huxley returned to London from his four years' surveying cruise in the "Rattlesnake," under the command of Captain Owen Stanley, one of the first men of kindred pursuits who took him by the hand was George Burk, then surgeon to the Seaman's Hospital, the "Dreadnaught," lying in the Thames off Greenwich. About this time Burk removed from Greenwich to Harley street, and although doing some practice as a surgeon, and even attaining to the position of President of the Royal College of Surgeons, his main occupation and chief pleasure were in purely scientific pursuits, and his great interest in and familiarity with microscopic manipulation, especially as applied to the structure of lowly organized animal forms—then rather in its infancy—was a strong

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bond of sympathy with Huxley. In 1852-4 they translated and edited jointly Kölliker's *Manual of Human Histology*, published by the Sydenham Society. This fact shows that Huxley had already made himself proficient in the German language, as he had also, while on board the "Rattlesnake," taught himself Italian, with the main object of being able to read Dante in the original, so wide were his interests and sympathies.

It was through Burk that I first became acquainted with Huxley. This was shortly before his marriage, the incidents connected with which were of a somewhat romantic character. When the "Rattlesnake" was in Sydney Harbor the officers were invited to a ball, and young Huxley among the number. There for the first time he met his future wife, whose parents resided at Sydney. A few days after they were engaged, and the ship sailed for the Tower Straits to complete the survey of the north coast of Australia, all communication being cut off for months at a time, and then she returned direct to England. After that brief acquaintance (not, I believe, longer than a fortnight), it was seven years before the lovers saw one another. At the end of this time, on Huxley's appointment to the School of Mines, he was in a position to claim his bride, and welcome her to their first home in St. John's Wood. He often used to say that to engage the affections of a young girl under these circumstances, knowing that he would have to leave her for an indefinite time, and with only the remotest prospect of ever marrying, was an act most strongly to be reprobated, and he often held it out as a warning to his children never to do anything of the kind, and yet they all married young and all happily. Huxley's love at first sight and constancy during those seven long years of separation were richly rewarded, for it is impossible to imagine a pair more thoroughly suited. I cannot help relating a little incident which clings to my memory, though it happened full thirty years ago. A rather cynical and vulgar-minded acquaintance of mine said to me one day: "I saw Huxley in a box at the Drury Lane Theatre last night. Can you tell me who was the lady with him?" After a few words of description I said: "Oh, that was Mrs. Huxley." "Indeed," he said, "I thought it could not be his wife, he was so very attentive to her all the evening." As intimate friends knew, they had at first many household troubles and cares to contend with, a large family of young children,

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much ill health, and not very abundant means, but through it all Huxley's patience and sweetness were admirable. The fierce and redoubtable antagonist in the battlefield of scientific or theological controversy was all love and gentleness at home.

The fact that he had sailed under Captain Owen Stanley, who died when in command of the "Rattlesnake" in Australia, brought him into very friendly communication with the Captain's brother, the late dean of Westminster, *the* Dean, as many of us always used to, and still do, call him, just as the first Duke of Wellington was always called *the* Duke. Notwithstanding the great differences of their interests and pursuits, they remained intimate until Stanley's death, and to be with them when they met was a rare occasion of hearing much delightful talk and many displays of playful wit. If I had the faculty of a Boswell, I should have much work narrating of many charming little dinner parties at one or the other of our houses, when Huxley and the Dean were the principal talkers. I remember a characteristic *rencontre* between them which took place on one of the ballot nights at the Athenæum. A well-known popular preacher of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, who had made himself famous by predictions of the speedy coming of the end of the world, was up for election. I was standing by Huxley when the Dean, coming straight from the ballot boxes, turned towards us. "Well," said Huxley, "have you been voting for C?" "Yes, indeed, I have," replied the Dean. "Oh, I thought the priests were always opposed to the prophets," said Huxley. "Ah?" replied the Dean, with that well-known twinkle in his eye, and the sweetest of smiles. "But you see, I do not believe in his prophecies, and some people say I am not much of a priest."

Speaking of Dean Stanley, I am reminded of a very interesting meeting which took place at my house, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on November 26, 1878, just after his return from his visit to the United States. He had a great wish to see Darwin, who was one of the few remarkable men of the age with whom he was not personally acquainted. They moved in totally different circles, Darwin having, owing to ill-health, long given up going into general society. He had, however, a great admiration for the Dean's liberality, courage, and character, and was glad of the opportunity of meeting him. So we arranged that they should both come to lunch. They were mutually pleased with

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each other, although they had not many subjects in common to talk about. Darwin was no theologian and Stanley did not take the slightest interest in nor had he any knowledge of any branch of natural history, although his father was eminent as an ornithologist and President of the Linnean Society. I once took him over the Geological Gardens. His remarks were, of course, original and amusing, but the sole interest he appeared to find in any of the animals was in tracing some human trait, either in appearance or character. The Dean enjoyed intensely the broader aspects and beauties of nature as shown in scenery, but the details of animal and plant life were entirely outside his sympathies.

Another introduction consequent upon Huxley's voyage in the "Rattlesnake" was to Dr. Vaughan, then Headmaster of Harrow. Mrs. Vaughan was Captain Owen Stanley's sister, and soon after Huxley's return he was asked to dine and pass the night at Harrow. This was a new experience. The young rough sailor surgeon was at first quite out of his element in the refined, scholastic, ecclesiastical society he found himself plunged into. Among those who were present was an Oxford don (the first of the class Huxley had ever met), whose great learning, suave manner and air of superiority during dinner, greatly alarmed and repelled him, as he afterwards confessed. Bed time came, and both stood upon the staircase, lighted candle in hand. They looked straight into each other's faces, and the don addressed a few words directly to Huxley for the first time. He was much interested, and an animated conversation ensued. Instead of bidding each other "good night" they adjourned to a neighboring room, sat down and talked till two o'clock in the morning. This was the beginning of Huxley's life-long friendship with the late Master of Balliol, Dr. Jowett.

It may surprise some people to know, but that he has told it himself in an exceedingly interesting and delightfully written short autobiographical sketch prefixed to his works, that Huxley was not in early life anything of what is commonly called a naturalist. Most men who have distinguished themselves in the field of zoölogy or paleontology have loved the subject from their early boyhood, a love generally shown by the formation of collections of specimens. Huxley never did anything of the kind. His early tastes were for literature and for engineering. He attrib-

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uted the awakening of his interest in anatomy to Professor Wharton Jones' lectures at Charing Cross Hospital, where he received his medical education. Wharton Jones was one of the pioneers of microscopic research in this country; a great enthusiast in his work, but a man of modest and exceedingly retiring disposition, and very little known outside a small circle of friends. He published several papers on histology in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and made a specialty of ophthalmic surgery. Perhaps of his various contributions to the advancement of his subject, not the least important was that of making a scientific anatomist of Huxley.

The next man who had a real influence upon Huxley's professional career. was Sir John Richardson, a very keen zoölogist, at that time Principal Medical Officer at Haslar Hospital, near Portsmouth, where the naval assistant surgeons first proceeded on appointment. It was through him, that Huxley was appointed to the surveying ship, the "Rattlesnake." He was not naturalist to the expedition, as has been sometimes said, indeed he would at this time have been hardly qualified for such a post, for although he had published a short paper on the microscopic structure of the human hair, he had as yet done no zoölogical work. Moreover, the ship did carry an accredited naturalist, John Macgillivray, who published a "Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. 'Rattlesnake,' during 1846–'50," in two volumes [1852].

Huxley's official duties were only with the health of the crew, and as he had a surgeon above him, he had plenty of leisure at his command. How this leisure was employed in laying the foundation upon which his future distinction rested has often been told. He had his microscope with him, and he threw himself with the greatest ardour into the investigation of the structure of the lowly organized, but beautiful, forms of animal life which abounded in the seas through which the ship sailed, and which the surveying operations in which she was engaged gave ample opportunities for observing under the most favorable conditions. This was almost a new field of research. He became fascinated with it, and his success in its pursuit was the main cause of his adopting zoölogy as the principal subject to engage his energies during the rest of his life.

As said before, Huxley, unlike many other zoölogists, was never a collector, and had not the slightest tincture of the spirit

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of a museum curator. He cared for a specimen according to the facilities it afforded for investigation. He cut it up, got all the knowledge he could out of it, and threw it away. I believe he never made a preparation of any kind, and he cared little for directions sealed down in bottles.

When, in 1862, he was appointed to the Hunterian Professorship at the College of Surgeons, he took for the subject of several yearly courses of lectures, the anatomy of the vertebrata, beginning with the primates, and as the subject was then rather new to him, and as it was a rule with him never to make a statement in a lecture that was not founded upon his own actual observation, he set to work to make a series of original dissections of all the forms he treated of. These were carried on in the workroom at the top of the college, and mostly in the evenings, after his daily occupation at Jermyn Street (The School of Mines, as it was then called) was over, an arrangement which my residence in the college buildings enabled me to make for him. These rooms contained a large store of material, entire or partially dissected animals preserved in spirit, which unlike those mounted in the museum, were available for further investigation in any direction, and these, supplemented occasionally by fresh subjects from the zoölogical gardens, formed the foundation of the lectures, afterwards condensed into the volume on the Anatomy of Vertebrated Animals, published in 1871. On these evenings it was always my privilege to be with him, and to assist in the work in which he was engaged. In dissecting, as in everything else, he was a very rapid worker, going straight to the point he wished to ascertain with a firm and steady hand, never diverted into side issues, nor wasting any time in unnecessary polishing up for the sake of appearances; the very opposite in fact to what is commonly known as "finikin." His great facility for bold and dashing sketching came in most usefully in this work, the notes he made being largely helped out by illustrations. He might have been a great artist, some of his anatomical sketches reminding me much of Sir Charles Bell's, but he never had time to cultivate his faculties in this direction and I believe never attempted any finished work. His power of drawing on the black board during the lectures was of great assistance to him and to his audience, and his outdoor sketches made during some of his travels, as in Egypt, though slight were full of artistic feeling. His genius was also

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conspicuously shown by the clever drawings, often full of playful fancy, which covered the paper that happened to be lying before him when sitting at a council or committee meeting. On such occasions his hand was rarely idle.

It is very singular that, although, as admitted by all who heard him, he was one of the clearest and most eloquent of scientific lecturers of his time, he always disliked lecturing, and the nervousness from which he suffered in his early days was never entirely overcome, however little apparent it might be to his audience. After his first public lecture at the Royal Institution he received an anonymous letter, telling him that he had better not try anything of the kind again, as whatever he was fit for, it was certainly not giving lectures! Instead of being discouraged, he characteristically set to work to mend whatever faults he had of style and manner, with what success is well known. Nevertheless, he often told me of the awful feeling of alarm which always came over him on entering the door of the lecture room of the Royal Institution, or even the College of Surgeons, where the subject was most familiar and the audience entirely sympathetic. He had a feeling that he must break down before the lecture was over, and it was only by recalling to his memory the number of times he had lectured without anything of the kind happening, and then drawing conclusions as to the improbability of its occurring now, that he was able to brace himself up to the effort of beginning his discourse. When once fairly away on his subject all such apprehensions were at an end. Such experiences are, of course, very common, but they were probably aggravated greatly in Huxley's case by the ill health, that miserable, hypochondriacal dyspepsia which, as he says himself, was his constant companion for the last half century of his life. Bearing in mind the serious inroad this made in the amount of time available for active employment, it is marvellous to think of the quantity he was able to accomplish. When the time comes for forming a just estimate of the value of his scientific work, and if quality as well as quantity be fairly taken into account, it will without doubt bear comparison with, if it will not exceed, that of any of his contemporaries.

If, instead of taking up medicine and afterwards science as a profession, he had gone to the bar, he must infallibly have achieved the highest measure of success. As an advocate he

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could scarcely have been surpassed. His clear, penetrating insight into the essentials of an intricate question, the rapidity with which he swept aside all that was irrelevant, and the forcible way in which he could state the arguments for his own side of a case, and his brilliant power of repartee, would have been irresistible in a court of justice. He was also free from a quality which paralyzes the effective action of many men of great mental capacity, the faculty of seeing something at least of both sides of a case at the same time. When he took up a cause he took it up in thorough earnest, and it must be admitted that there was then very little chance of his feeling any sympathy for the other side. He had some strong prejudices against doctrines, against institutions, and against individuals, and as his nature was absolutely honest and truthful, he never cared to conceal them. On the other hand, no man was more loyal to the causes he approved of or the people he liked. He could always be relied upon to carry out to the uttermost of his power anything he had undertaken to do. To the younger workers in his own fields of research nothing could exceed his generous assistance, sympathy and encouragement. These qualities were, above all others, the main causes of the devoted attachment he won from everyone who was brought much into personal contact with him.

In one of the recent biographical notices which have appeared of Huxley it is said that "no man of more reverent religious feeling ever trod this earth." This statement has much of truth in it. If the term "religious" be limited to acceptance of the formularies of one of the current creeds of the world, it cannot be applied to Huxley, but no one could be intimate with him without feeling that he possessed a deep reverence for "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," and an abhorrence of all that is the reverse of these, and that, although he found difficulty in expressing it in definite words, he had a pervading sense of adoration of the infinite, very much akin to the highest religion.

W. H. Flower.

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THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS E. CLARKE, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

IT HAS often been remarked that a history of the Society of Christian Endeavor is a story of great religious conventions. This organization seems to have inaugurated a new era in the history of religious conventions the world around, for Christian Endeavor conventions are not indigenous to the American soil alone, or at least if they are exotics in other lands, they flourish quite as well as in their native soil. The Christian Endeavor Society in Australia and in England, and even in China, has been marked by the greatest religious gatherings of this character which these countries have known, and the wonderful scene enacted in Boston in July has been duplicated on a smaller scale in Sydney, and Melbourne, and Adelaide, and Shanghai, and London, and Birmingham, and Glasgow.

Wherever the Endeavor Society has taken root, and there are few lands now in all the world where it has not taken root, one of its first developments is the massing together in vast conventions of earnest young people who desire to find better ways of working for the church, for their country, and for humanity.

Even the early history of the Christian Endeavor movement was marked by some remarkable conventions. Not that these gatherings received very much attention in the daily papers or even in the religious press of the day, but they were none the less remarkable for the spirit and purpose which pervaded them, and for the promise which they gave of larger things as the society should grow in numbers and influence.

When the first society, that of the Williston Church in Portland, Me., was scarcely seventeen months old, the first conven-

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tion was held in the parent church. Then there were known to be in existence only six or seven societies in all the world, though doubtless there were a number of others of which we had no record. These societies were invited to send delegates one June day in 1882 to the Williston Church, and a very pleasant and significantly prophetic convention was then held.

Of course the numbers were small, for all the Endeavorers then in the world, probably, would not have filled even a very moderate-sized church, but those who came together found ample reason for the convocation. They found questions of interest to discuss and much joy in their interdenominational fellowship, and one and all voted this first convention a decided success, which ought to be repeated in the future years.

The next year a larger gathering was held in another church of the same city, the historic old Second Parish Church, of which the Rev. Edward Payson was an early pastor. By this time the societies had multiplied, and this meeting was naturally larger and more full of interest and promise than the convention of 1882. From that day to the present, as the societies have rapidly increased in numbers and zeal and *esprit de corps,* the conventions have increased in like proportion.

The meetings held in 1886 and 1887 at Saratoga Springs will long be remembered by all who attended them for their spiritual flavor and the joyous earnestness of those who came together. As in almost every year since, the numbers far exceeded the expectations ; a fact which is true of very few religious gatherings or convocations of any other kind, and it was a great surprise to many an *habituè* of Saratoga, somewhat *blasé,* as it must be confessed he sometimes is by reason of hops and congress water and horse races and Kissingen, to find the sidewalk in the vicinity of the large Methodist Church thronged with Endeavorers at half-past six in the morning, waiting until the church could be unlocked, and to find that the interest of the multitude was centered in an early morning prayer meeting.

The first great convention, so far as numbers were concerned, was the one held in Chicago in the following year, in 1888, in the armory hall of Battery D. Five thousand it is thought attended this meeting, and though not a tenth part of the numbers found at the present conventions, that was then considered a most surprising gathering, and was declared by more than one religious

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writer to be the largest religious gathering ever held in the history of the Christian church.

Philadelphia welcomed 7,000 to her ample hospitality the next year, St. Louis 11,000 in 1890, Minneapolis 14,000 in 1891, New York 30,000 in 1892. With each succeeding year as the throngs grew larger the conventions excited more and more attention. Particularly was this true of the convention at New York.

It was with the greatest difficulty that the people of the metropolis could be brought to realize that a concourse of any size was coming within their borders. One hotel keeper, when the committee of assignments sought places of entertainment, offered to take the whole convention within his ample hostelry. When asked if he knew how many were coming, he replied that he did not care how many were coming, that his hotel would accommodate 1,500 guests, that he had provided for many conventions in the past, and, as the summer season was a slack time for him, he could take in the whole convention as well as not. When informed by the committee of arrangements that there would doubtless be ten times 1,500 people present he whistled softly, a low, incredulous note, and bestowed a look of supreme pity, not unmixed slightly with contempt, upon the well-meaning religious enthusiast who confronted him. But not ten times 1,500, but twenty times 1,500 were the final figures which told of the throngs of Christian Endeavorers who poured into New York City for the eleventh International Christian Endeavor convention. The papers found themselves suddenly with a great problem upon their hands, to report worthily so vast a convocation. They rose to the occasion, however, at least some of them did, and gave most generous space to this remarkable gathering.

The Hon. Chauncey Depew, with the pleasant facetiousness which so becomes him, declared, when he addressed the great throng in Madison Square Garden, that "New York never looked so fresh and green as it did on that joyous occasion." But the young people forgave his joke and applauded the somewhat equivocal compliment to the echo, for they knew, as did every one else who looked around on that throng of radiant faces, that the stalwart young men of America and the fair young women from country and city were there with their faces all illumined with the light of a high and noble purpose to win their land, or so much of it as they are responsible for, to the highest and noblest ends.

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The *personnel* of these conventions is as remarkable as the numbers brought together. Every one who studies the faces and mingles with the throngs at these yearly gatherings remarks upon this feature. You must needs search far and long for a milksop or a goody-goody youth or maiden, unless their faces strangely belie their characters. Strong young business men, students from our colleges and academies, maidens from all ranks of society, but all intelligent and purposeful, abound everywhere. They are quick to catch the speaker's point, eager to applaud the sentiments which appeal to their hearts and to their common sense; always ready at the open parliaments with modest suggestions and sensible plans for the carrying on of their work; alert, keen, quick witted are the tens of thousands who now annually come to the movable Christian Endeavor feast.

The proportion of young men at these conventions is a very striking feature. A journal devoted to the interests of women has recently declared that of the sixty thousand who attended the convention in Boston, fifty thousand were young women. This is a huge mistake, though if the statement were true I do not mean to intimate that the fact would be derogatory to the convention. But, as a matter of fact, nearly if not quite one-half, certainly of those who came from a distance, are young men, as a glance at almost any of the audiences would prove. The convention of 1893 at Montreal was smaller than the New York gathering, largely because those who come to the convention must all come from a distance. There is but a small local constituency of Christian Endeavorers in Montreal. Still some seventeen or eighteen thousand attended this convention, most of them coming from a long distance, and probably the number of miles travelled by the delegates in the aggregate was far larger than at any preceding gathering, and in spiritual tone and purpose the convention was quite up to its predecessors.

The convention of 1894 was held in the city of Cleveland, and, to all appearances, the most unpropitious week in all the century was chosen for the gathering. The intense commercial depression of the previous twelve months had been followed by the most gigantic strike in the annals of American labor organizations. Almost every railway in the United States was tied up or was in danger of being blockaded by the strikers. An absolute embargo was laid on the delegates from the Pacific Coast,

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and, in fact, on many from nearer Western States, who could not, whatever their intention, reach the convention, as no trains were running. Those who came from the East were uncertain about reaching the fair city by the lake, or, if they reached it, whether they would be able to get to their homes again. It was freely predicted, even by those who knew something of the pluck and persistency of Christian Endeavorers, that the convention would necessarily be a small one, and all were amazed when the news was flashed over the wires that this was the largest convention in the history of the movement, and that fully forty thousand people were in attendance at the meeting. Half of these came from outside of the city of Cleveland and immediate vicinity.

Great things were naturally expected of the last convention which has just closed in Boston, and these great expectations were not in any way disappointed. It was thought that there would be fifty thousand people in attendance. As a matter of fact 56,425 registered delegates were recorded, and there were probably thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of others who had some part in the convention, and attended some of the sessions, though they were not registered as Christian Endeavorers. For months in advance preparations were made for this meeting most carefully and elaborately. "The Committee of Thirteen," of which the Hon. S. B. Capen was the chairman, or "the Committee of '95" as it is sometimes called if any one objects to the unlucky number, was simply at the head of a vast committee numbering over four thousand individuals, a committee which the largest church in Boston could not hold when they attempted to have a mass meeting to prepare for the convention. These committees were to welcome the guests when they arrived, to find homes for them and to pilot them thither, to perform the duties of ushers in the churches and the great auditoriums, to raise the necessary money for the use of the convention, to look after the printing and the hall accommodations; in fact, to perform the thousand and one duties incident to the preparation for such a vast gathering and for its proper accommodation after the meeting began.

The convention choir consisted of a chorus of three thousand voices which was divided into three parts, a thousand going to each of the three large auditoriums. To secure places of meeting of sufficient size is naturally one of the great problems of such

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a gathering. Long ago it was found that no one hall in America is large enough to accommodate those who come together, and if such a hall could be found there is no voice in America big enough to fill it. Naturally, then, the thing to do is to divide the audience into smaller groups which are yet large enough to give the effect of an immense mass meeting, while yet within the compass of the most powerful voices. For the Boston convention the great Mechanics' Hall with its capacity of ten thousand, and two great tents, built for the occasion, each one of which when crowded would hold as many more, were secured. Besides, many churches were generously offered to the convention, and not less than two hundred of them in all were used.

Thus it will be seen that though all could not get into the auditoriums at any one time, all were accommodated somewhere, and provision was made not only for the fifty-six thousand who came to Boston but for tens of thousands of the people of Boston who desired to get within sight and sound of the convention.

As a matter of fact, all the delegates themselves did not expect to attend all the sessions, nor was it expected that they would. Many of them came from a distance of fifty or sixty miles, going back and forth to their homes every day, attending what sessions they could and content with getting the inspiration and stimulus of the great gathering. So, while there were many who could not get to the particular session which they desired, all could attend the convention, and there was surprisingly little complaint from the young people, whom I have come to regard, after long experience of these annual gatherings, to be the best natured and sunniest company in all the world.

The city of Boston entered heartily into the plans for the convention. It realized in advance what was coming, and everything was done to give the visitors a most royal welcome. The public gardens were decorated with Chistian Endeavor colors, and Christian Endeavor emblems and monograms; the entrance to the parks were through arches which told of Boston's greeting, while many of the merchants covered their stores with red and white bunting, the convention colors, or set them ablaze at night with Christian Endeavor emblems in electric light.

The daily papers vied with each other to give the best account of the meetings. Every day for weeks in advance many columns and a multitude of pictures heralded the advancing host, and

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when the convention actually came pages and pages were given each day to a verbatim report of the proceedings.

It can be imagined that to prepare the programme for such a convention is no slight task. More than a thousand speakers had part in the exercises. The convention programme, abbreviated as it was, with many parts only indicated and the speakers' names not given, covered nearly forty pages of closely packed type. Moreover, so far as possible, speakers with iron throats and brazen lungs, who can make themselves heard in the great assemblies, must be chosen, and something like thirty denominations must be represented upon the programme. But almost without a break the programme was carried through, and always on time.

It may be asked, is it not almost impossible to conduct or control such a vast and apparently tumultuous assembly? I would reply that never was there an easier convention to control than this same Boston convention. The gavels which had been presented for use in the different auditoriums were scarcely required at all. A single suggestion from the presiding officer was enough to induce perfect quiet and attention. Not a disagreeable incident from beginning to end occurred to my knowledge, but in all the assemblies every one seemed to strive to do as they would be done by, speakers and hearers alike. The tide of enthusiasm rolled higher and higher to the very end, and the consecration meeting with which the convention closed was the most remarkable of the series.

But it may be asked, what is the *rationale* of these conventions? How can they be accounted for? What roots lie beneath the surface from which this flower draws its life?

I know of no other answer except that which is found in the principles of the Christian Endeavor movement. Like the movement itself, the conventions are very democratic affairs. I have spoken of the "delegates," but in a strict sense of the word there are no delegates. The conventions are mass meetings, to which all Christian Endeavorers are welcomed on the same basis. The conventions have no legislative powers, no binding votes are taken, there is no wrangling over creeds or polity, there are no offices to fill, and no spoils to be divided. More strictly than any other convention of which I know are these mass meetings for inspiration and fellowship, and not for business or politics. This is entirely in accord with the genius of the Christian Endeavor

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movement. There is no boss or dictator in Christian Endeavor. Every society accepts the will of its own church as final and supreme. There is no other arbitrator. No United Society, or State, or Provincial Union in all the world seeks to legislate for any local society. The duties of a Christian Endeavor society are fulfilled when it does those things which its church and pastor would like to have it do. As a matter of course, then, these conventions, when they assemble, can give themselves entirely to fellowship and the inspiration of the hour; and the results are seen in the thronging thousands who go back to their homes and their churches to live better lives and do nobler work than ever before.

Again, the success of these conventions can be accounted for by their flexibility and adaptability to circumstances. The convention in Shanghai was in its way as great a success as the convention in Boston, because it adapted itself to the needs of China as the Boston convention did to the needs of the young people of America. The need of America in the present day is evidently a better citizenship, a purer political atmosphere, and this has been the ringing keynote which has been struck at every one of the last three conventions. The applause with which this note has been received when struck, and the enthusiasm with which Christian Endeavorers everywhere have carried out the thought, has shown the adaptability of the movement to every passing phase of American life. A Tammany not only overthrown, but a Tammany forevermore impossible in America, was one great thought of the Boston convention, and five times ten thousand hearts pledged themselves quietly, but none the less sincerely, to a better citizenship and a purer government for our great cities and for our nation.

"If I cannot have a vote," said one young lady, "I can have a voter, and I will do my utmost to see that he votes right on moral questions," and her sentiment was as heartily applauded by the sex that votes as by the one which as yet has no ballot save in Colorado and Wyoming.

In a multitude of places throughout the country these efforts for good citizenship, which are started at these conventions, are multiplied and reduplicated as the convention echoes are heard in every city and hamlet of the nation. Not as a political party, not by allying itself to any politician or to any political measure,

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but standing in all political parties for righteousness and purity, the Christian Endeavorers, if not the Christian Endeavor Society of the future, will have a mighty influence and as wholesome, I believe, as mighty over the destiny of our Republic.

Other dominant notes are struck at these conventions, though none more persistently of late years than this note of good citizenship. Missionary interests are always kept to the fore, and the broadest interpretation is given to the word "missionary." Work for the poor; for the "submerged tenth" in our great cities; relief of the sick and destitute; the carrying of sunshine and flowers to those whose lives are dreary and barren, and the transportation to fresh fields and pastures new of those who ordinarily breathe the foul air of the slums, are some of the missionary efforts of Christian Endeavorers.

They remember also that they have a duty, and an especial duty, to their own denominational missionary boards, in their efforts to win the world to Christ. As a result the contributions from the societies during the last year, for distinctively missionary purposes, amounted to nearly half a million of dollars.

Another idea, necessarily prominent during these conventions, is that of interdenominational fellowship. The society is not undenominational, as it is sometimes called, but interdenominational. Each local society is as denominational as the church to which it belongs, but in its wider relation, and especially in its international conventions, it is broadly interdenominational. In this feature lies one of the great and enduring charms of these conventions. They bring together young Christians of all Evangelical names and creeds in a most gracious fellowship. While doctrinaires are discussing Christian union, and proposing various bases for the coming together of the forces of Christendom, Christian Endeavorers are enjoying Christian Union, without saying much about it.

Some one has wisely said, that "Christian union is much like silence; it is apt to be broken when you begin to talk about it." The Christian Endeavorers do not say very much about Christian Union. They do not expect organic unity, or the destruction of denominations, for they understand that denominations stand for the emphasis of great ideas, and they know that there is a great difference between denominationalism and sectarianism. Christian Endeavor is an inveterate foe to sectarianism, but is a friend of a

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broad-minded, warm-hearted denominationalism. The denominational rallies at the conventions are meetings of great power and interest, and are entirely in harmony with the interdenominational character of the gathering, which draws its chief inspiration from this demonstration of the practical oneness of Christians of every name.

Never were the prospects for the triumph of this interdenominational fellowship so bright as at present. Though strenuously opposed in some quarters, and much misrepresented in others, it is constantly winning its way. The fellowship is enlarging by hundreds of thousands every year. Every month sees four times ten thousand earnest youths joining this fraternity, which stands for loyalty as well as fellowship, for fidelity as well as for fraternity. Never did the young people before so hear the call which summons them to duty for their country, for their community, for their church, for their God. To the genuine spirit of the movement they have responded most surprisingly, and are constantly going forward to larger victories.

In the light of the history of the last fourteen years the hymn written by the author of "America" for the Boston convention is evidently prophetic of the future :

Arouse ye, arouse ye! O servants of God,
His right arm your strength, and your leader His rod,
O, haste from the north, from the south, to His call,
His cause shall prevail, He shall reign over all.
Farewell to your dreaming! No longer delay!
Go tell the glad tidings—God's hand points the way.
Go forward! go forward! to conquer, or die—
God will make sure the victory.

CHORUS.

Haste and bear the banner forth
East and west, and south and north;
Haste to lift the cross on high,
The pledge of victory.
Haste and bear the banner forth,
East and west, and south and north;
Haste to lift the cross on high,
The pledge of victory,
The cross and victory.

FRANCIS E. CLARKE.

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TREND OF NATIONAL PROGRESS.

BY ROBERT H. THURSTON, DIRECTOR OF SIBLEY COLLEGE,
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GREAT movements, whether of mind or matter, of nations or of planets, of civilizations or of comets, of philosophy, of religion, or of wealth-production, are the results of the action of great natural forces, and have, in all cases, a definable route and rate of motion. As the writer has often put it: "Nature never turns a sharp corner" in any such movement, and the mighty flux of material and of intellectual forces, and the grand resultant flow of the current of material, or of intangible progress, must always be as steady and as smooth as that of a great river flowing through a plain. It may deviate, and even turn upon itself at times, but it must have a smooth curve, if not a rectilinear course. Now and then some great moral or physical obstruction may impede or divert its stream, but only mighty forces, commensurate with the tremendous inertia of the mass affected, can produce immediate or marked effects upon either its magnitude or its direction.

It thus comes that, if we can trace the line of progress during the immediate past,—if we are able to follow it during past centuries or bygone ages,—we may lay down upon the chart the line of its earlier course, to date, and can see at once what must, inevitably, be the direction, the rate, and the distance gained, in any stated time in the immediate future, *provided* new and catastrophic phenomena do not, by their unexpected and unforseeable action, invalidate all prophecy. Given the curve of human progress, in any field, as representing the immediate past, the immediate future becomes knowable with a degree of accuracy and certainty, which is the greater as the forces and the masses affected by them are the greater. The terminal portion of our curve exhibits the tendency, and the direction of movement, at the

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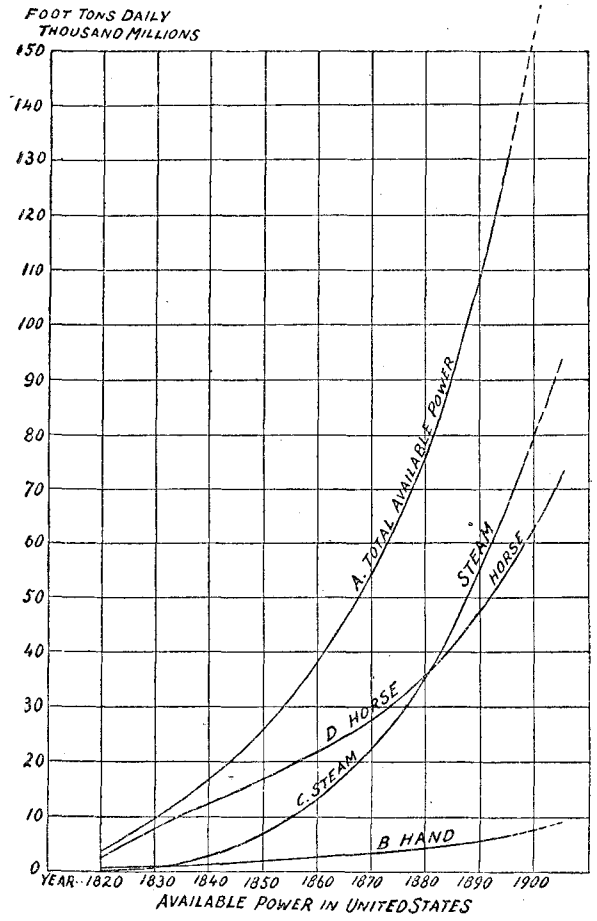
moment; and if no great physical or moral force threatens to introduce a new deviating power, or to cause some catastrophe, the progress of to-day will be, inevitably, the outcome of the progress of yesterday and the introduction to the progress of to-



(FIGURE 1.)

morrow, with unchanged, or little changed, rectilinear or curvilinear advance. The rate of progress of education, or of wealth-accumulation, in 1895, must be substantially correct as a gauge of that of 1896, or with, perhaps, a little less exactness, of that of 1900. A great war, or a world-wide commercial depression,

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or a "reformation," may now and then, in the course of the centuries, affect these great social currents of progress; but, if nothing at the moment looms up, threatening the immediate future, the trend of human or of national progress may be considered as fully established.

The distinguished statistician, Mr. Mulhall, in a recent issue of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, has given the data which permit the establishment of the curves of progress of the nation, from early in the century to date, and thus their approximate establishment in location, form, and direction, for the immediate future. No great war occurring, and no serious catastrophe of other kind taking place, we may obtain an idea of the probable future movement, in its extent and direction, and in results; the accuracy of which will be more or less certain accordingly as the curve, so far as laid down from our data, is more or less smooth and even and persistent in its line. The tendencies of the moment are within the view of the student, and the immediate future comes into the field of view of the clairvoyant scholar.

Taking up this mass of most interesting and instructive data, let us construct our curves and observe what they represent and to what they point; and let us see what we can discover of the trend of national progress in growth, in wealth, in knowledge, and in power.

The basis of all wealth and the measure of the power of accumulation of wealth is the aggregate working power of a people. The working power of a civilized people has come to be measured by the total of its steam power. The growth in its total "horse power" *in steam engines* of all kinds is the measure of its growth in all the material foundation of civilization and progress, and thus material progress underlies progress in all the arts and sciences, and every intellectual as well as material advance. The first of our diagrams (Figure 1, *A*) exhibits the trend of our progress in developing power of national advancement. Its smooth, steady curvature shows not only advance and constant gain, but a steady and continuous *gain in rate of gain.* A straight line would simulate gain by simple interest; our curves, *A* to *D*, simulate gain by compound interest with frequently recurring periods of payment. The century has seen great gain in power of doing work, of accumulating wealth, and great *gain in rapidity of gain* of power and wealth. All our

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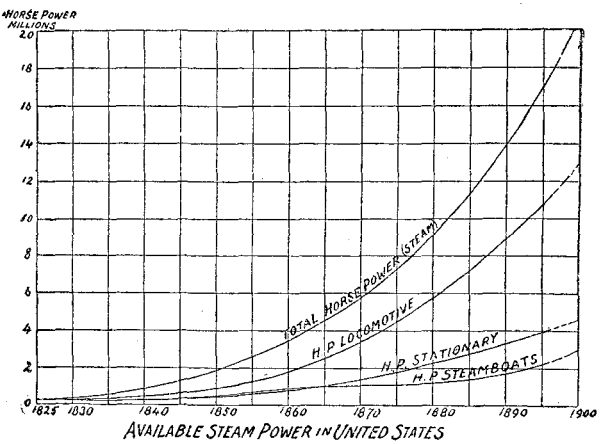
subsequent deductions confirm this primary and essential, this fundamental, conclusion. The United States of North America constitutes not only the most powerful of nations, in the most literal and meaning sense, but it is all the time increasing its speed in the race and as constantly more and more rapidly distancing its competitors. As we shall see presently, its greater and growing intelligence, its great inventive power, fostered by our exceptionally effective patent system; its industry, its education; its conscientious acceptance of the correct principles of morals and of economics, as they are brought forward and generally discussed—all these, and other and concomitant qualities, give good reason for Mulhall's closing and enthusiastic prediction, as well as for all the eloquence and pride and confidence of Carnegie.



AVAILABLE STEAM POWER IN UNITED STATES

(FIGURE 2.)

In Figure 1, the line *A* is the expression of the fact and the law of our progress from 1820 to 1895; and the dotted portion shows clearly what is to be anticipated in the immediate future, if no catastrophic and unanticipated change in the conditions determining the fact and the law occurs. The smoothness of the curve and its regularity of curvature prove that natural causes have operated very steadily and continuously, in spite of occasional "crises," and that we may fairly assume the continuation of the curve in the same geometric relations to give us a prophecy of the coming years. Our total physical power for use in driving machinery, for wealth production, has risen from about 4,300,000,000 foot-tons, daily, in 1820—the equivalent of lifting a ton

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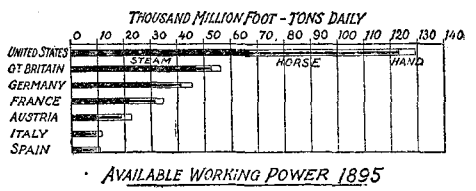
800,000 miles—to nearly ten times that figure in 1860, and to thirty times that power in 1895. It is seen that it must become something like forty times as much, about 150,000,000,000, in 1900. Human power is seen to be growing slowly, *i. e.*, in proportion to population, simply; while steam-power, coming in with Watt's perfection of the engine, at the beginning of the century, will amount to one-half the total this year, and aggregate 80,000,000 in 1900, and 110,000,000,000 in 1910. Horse-power, steadily growing at a moderate rate, though much faster than population, in the earlier half-century, and greater by far than steam-power, finally is eclipsed about 1880 by the latter, and, though still rapidly and steadily growing, falls far behind at the end of the century. Steam-power measures most accurately, probably, the ability to accumulate all those comforts and luxuries which constitute modern civilization, and it is seen that the trend of the line is there most rapidly upward. A glance at the



(FIGURE 3.)

succeeding diagrams will show the details of this progress and confirm our first and fundamental deduction.

Figure 2 simply classifies the forms of steam power into marine, stationary, locomotive, and gives their aggregate. The mightiest gain is seen to be in locomotive engines on our railroads. These curves show not only what are the figures for the past and the present, and for the next few years; but their uniformly steady curvature proves that we may fairly anticipate their continuation, with the same steady smooth sweep, for a quarter or a half century to come, should no catastrophe or revolutionizing invention break up our industrial methods and radically change social conditions. The horse-power of all steam engines to date has come to be about 17,000,000, will be nearly 25,000,000 in 1900, and double that figure in another quarter-century. The striking fact, here, is the proportion in which transportation demands power, as shown by the sum of the

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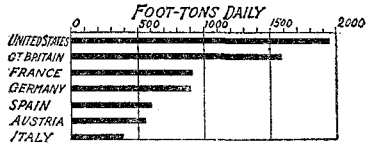
figures for railroads and steamboats. The curve for stationary engines exhibits the proportion devoted to manufacturing the articles transported. In every case the trend of progress is onward and upward, and with an accelerating velocity.

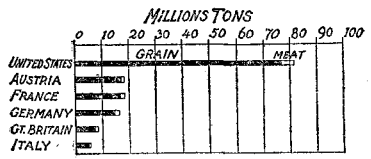
The next cluster of diagrams illustrates present momentary relations, as to numerical and comparative quantity, of the principal nations, as obtained by laying down Mulhall's data. Figure 3 places side by side the figures for available power of wealth-production, and we find the United States leading all nations



TOTAL AVAILABLE WORKING POWER, PER INHABITANT. 1895

(FIGURE 4.)

and doubling the amount assigned even to the leader among European countries, Great Britain. Germany is third, France fourth, and the other nations fall far behind. Reducing these figures to the measure of the working power per inhabitant, as in Figure 4, however, we get a more correct basis of comparison, as a gauge of the character of the nation and its civilization. Here we find that the United States is still in the van; but Great Britain is a close second and the inhabitant of France or Ger-



AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. 1890.

(FIGURE 5.)

many has but about one-half as much power of wealth-production as the inhabitant of the United States. Figures 5 and 6 throw some light upon the national habits, policies, and capacities. They show the agricultural production of these nations. The United States not only produces enormously more grain, and other products, than either of the other great nations, but, what is vastly more important, interesting, and instructive, twice as much

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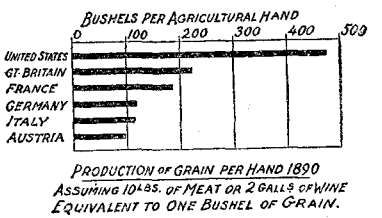
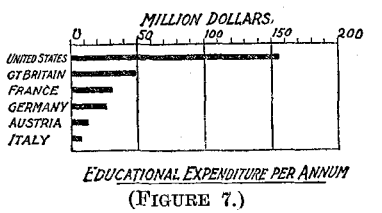
per worker as even Great Britain. This is at once proof of the ingenuity of our people, in making the natural powers and all machinery do their work, of the value and marvellous helpfulness of our patent system, and of the ability of our people to make their work tell most effectively in the application of wealth-producing powers to the production of the *permanent* forms of wealth, where other nations are compelled to devote their energies more largely to the production of the perishable articles—food, for example. That nation which can turn its power, mainly, into the



(FIGURE 6.)

production of the former kinds of wealth obviously will, other things equal, accumulate wealth and promote the comfort and content of its citizens most rapidly.

Figures 7 and 8 are even more interesting to the economist and to the statesman. The appropriation of public funds to educational purposes is seen to be about three times as much in



(FIGURE 7.)

the United States as even in Great Britain, and five times as much as in France and Germany, ten times as much as in Austria. The expenditure *per capita* is nearly double that of Great Britain, three and five times that, respectively, of France and Germany, and ten times that of Italy. These figures may perhaps be taken as the natural resultant of the preceding or, rather, these figures, representative of the intelligence of the country, in close degree, together with the freedom of the nation, and its inventiveness, stimulated by both freedom and a good system of patent law, are

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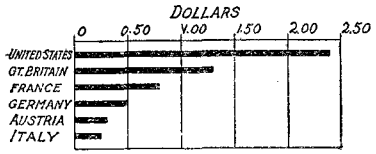
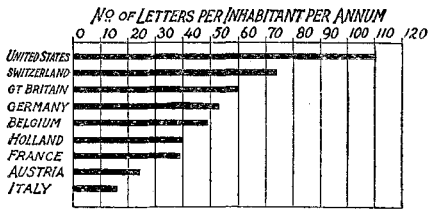
the basis of the wonderful gains already illustrated. Figure 9 shows the number of letters sent, per inhabitant, in each country, and measures the intelligence of its people. Figure 10 exhibits



EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE PER INHABITANT PER ANNUM

(FIGURE 8.)

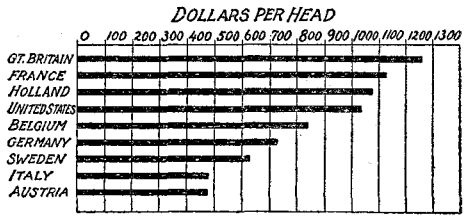
the wealth *per capita*, the natural and inevitable consequence of that ratio of intelligence with this marked qualification—the wealth of the United States is the accumulation of a single cen-



POST OFFICE RETURNS

(FIGURE 9.)

tury; that of Great Britain comes of intelligently directed energies, in commerce and manufactures, for centuries, and the other European countries have the same advantage—in respect to time,



AVERAGE OF WEALTH TO POPULATION

(FIGURE 10.)

only. Accumulations of centuries place three European nations ahead of the United States in this aggregate; but the gains are most rapid with our own country, and we shall soon take the lead.

Our public school system and the coming universality of the pol-

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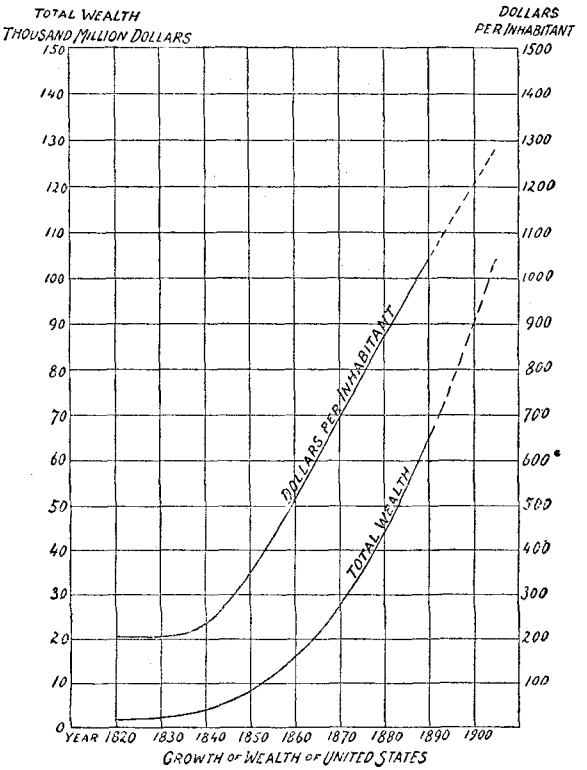
icy, on the part of the States, of taking charge of and liberally supporting higher education, as in the State universities and the possibly soon-to-be-founded National University, gives this country much of this extraordinary advantage and goes far toward making it the leader of the world in growth, in wealth, both material and intellectual. The trend of our progress is constantly onward and continually at such a rate of movement and of acceleration



(FIGURE 11.)

as well, as must steadily increase our relative and our actual altitude.

Figure 11 exhibits this growth of wealth, in the United States, as the product of the inconceivable physical power applied by our people to its production. The lower curve, and the lower and left-hand scales, illustrate the total wealth of the nation, and its growth from the beginning of the century, while the dotted lines,

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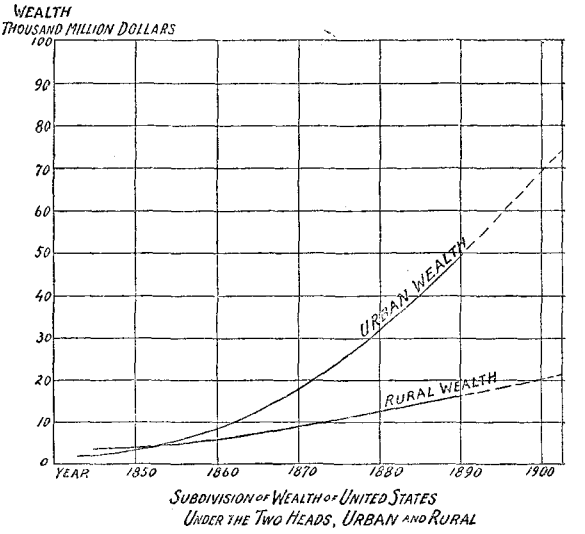
as before, indicate the future probable growth. From 1820 or 1830, wealth has been rapidly increasing with an accelerated ratio. That is to say, from the date of the perfection of Watt's steam engine and its application to mills and factories, and to steamboats and railroads, wealth has accumulated with a continually increasing *rate* of accumulation. From 2,000,000,000 in 1820, it has come to be 65,000,000,000 in 1890, and may be expected to become fifty per cent. more in 1900, and to double in the next quarter of a century. But the upper curve, of which



SUBDIVISION OF WEALTH OF UNITED STATES UNDER THE TWO HEADS, URBAN AND RURAL

(FIGURE 12.)

the quantities are reduced to dollars *per capita*, is a better index of our progress and its trend. The right-hand scale applies here.

The wealth, per inhabitant, was but $200 *per capita* in 1820; it was $1,000 in 1890, is now $1,120, and will be $1,200 in 1900.

The smooth and steady curvature of the line indicates that we may expect this gain to continue, indefinitely, into the coming decades at least, and that, with wise administration of the government, with repression of economic heresies and follies, and with continued industry and growing intelligence as the outcome of more and more general and complete education, our people may anticipate a total wealth of $2,000 for every man, woman and child in the community, within the first quarter of the new century. When it is remembered that this people to-day enjoys

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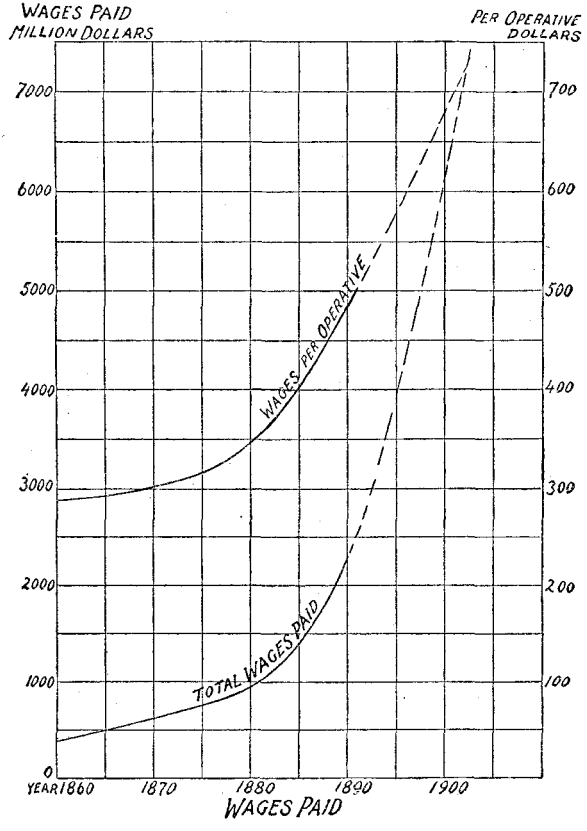
all the comforts, and many of the luxuries, of our fathers' generation, and that nearly all the coming gains of working power and in production will be applied to the securing of still greater comfort and of still more general distribution of luxuries, it can be seen very clearly that only their own follies can probably prevent this people from enjoying such a life as only poets have hitherto dreamed of, and that within the next one or two generations



(FIGURE 13.)

at latest. Our grandchildren will see this coming of a millennial period—lacking, perhaps, only the moral element so far as our people choose to forego that most essential of all its elements. In material comfort and prosperity the addition of a thousand dollars' worth of comfort and of luxury to every household, *for*

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each one of its members, should give marvellous improvement in an even now marvellously fortunate country.

Figure 12 shows how this wealth is, and is to be, distributed. It was mainly rural in the early days of the century; it was equally divided between city and country in 1855, and it is to-day three-fourths urban. This means that both people and property are accumulating in the cities, a fact long since recognized by every statistician. It means further, that the country is supplying the city with its surplus population, and that the city is paying that surplus better wages than can be paid in the country. It means, again, that the attractions of city life are steadily becoming more seductive, and that the coming ideal life of the every-day citizen is a city, and not a country, life. In 1900 the cities will contain between three and four times as much wealth as the country. This surplus of wealth will be devoted to the construction of attractive homes, to the sanitary improvement of the towns, to the provision of educational and other intellectual advantages that, in the aggregate, must make the city more and more attractive, in a thousand ways. The tendency is, in many ways, unfortunate; but it is certain and we must make the most and the best of it. A distinguished engineer, in a lecture recently given to the young men of his profession at Cornell University, suggested that, after all, with the coming improvements in sanitation and education in cities, it may prove that the vision of the prophet, of a heavenly city, may not be altogether unjustified, and the coming earthly paradise, like the heavenly one, may prove to be urban.

Figure 13 shows how wages are and will be distributed out of this wealth production. Before 1860 the wages were what we should to-day think very low; but, since the institution of the embargo by the civil war, and the partial embargo of the late war-tariff, all wages have been steadily and rapidly climbing, with that same acceleration of rate of gain which has been every where else observed. Almost five times as much is paid out as wages, each year, as is measured off as the total capital of the country at the time.

But the striking and encouraging fact is exhibited in the lower of these two curves. The wages paid each operative, less than $300 in 1860, is nearly $600 to-day, and will be above $600 per annum in 1900, if nothing occurs to disturb our present pros-

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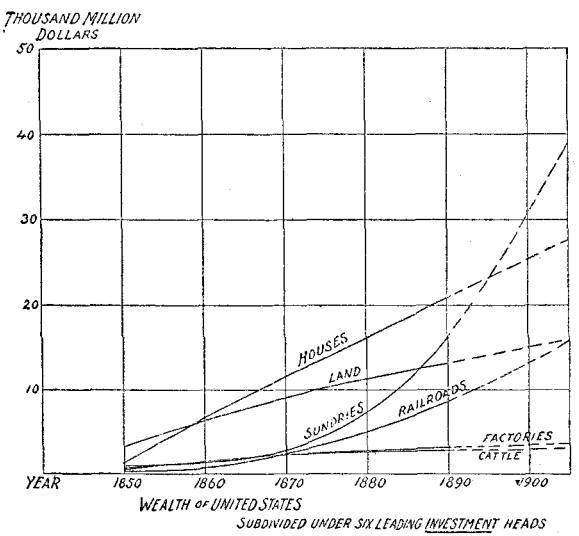
perity and the conditions of progress. In a few years more, the wages paid, on the average, per individual worker, will be as great as to-day supports the average well-to-do family. Of all our curves, this is one of the most rapid in its rise, and this means that the distribution of wealth is continually coming to be more and more equalized, and that the average day laborer, and the workman of every grade, will continually profit more and more, and will gain constantly a larger and a larger share of this distribution. Wealth will be more and more equally distributed, just as long as present social and economic conditions are maintained in a wholesome and uncrippled state. The



(FIGURE 14.)

working people of the United States are rapidly taking possession of its wealth, as they always have held possession of its policy and of its legislation. In fact, while we may boast many millionaires, as we boast of an occasional giant stalk of corn or tall wheat-straw, it is the people as a whole, and the average working citizens, of whom we must think as the makers of the nation and the creators of its wealth. It is the average citizen, no less, who possesses that wealth and who directs the progress of the nation.

The point made at the beginning of this article—that future

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gains of power and wealth will take the direction of improving the condition of the people directly, by giving more universal distribution of comfort and of luxuries, is well illustrated in the next diagram. Figure 14 shows the divisions of wealth, as classified by Mulhall, into a half dozen principal forms of investment. Wealth in cattle and herds grows slowly, as our facilities for transportation bring into the market a widening area of meat-producing country, and the markets of the world are supplied from Texas, from South America and Australia, prices are thus held down, and the people are able to buy their meat at low relative cost. Factories represent the next largest investment. But here improvements in the arts are continually making each more productive, and also making their erection and operation cheaper and more fruitful, relatively; so that while we are producing enormously more extensively than formerly, it is with relatively slow increase in the amount of our funds so invested. Railroads follow the general course of the curves already presented as those of steam power. They will, in 1900 or a little later, have the full value of all the lands of the nation.

But the curves for houses and for "sundries" are the most striking, when interpreted. The growth in value of real property is seen to be very steady and uniform. This fact, taken in conjunction with the known decrease of costs of construction, shows how steadily and how rapidly the people are coming to possess comfortable homes and permanent residences. This is the foundation of all the material good in life.

It is the curve of "Sundries" that most of all interests us. This includes all the thousand and one articles of comfort and luxury which make the life of the people worth living. It is in the production of a higher and steeper curve that our growing power is largely applied. It is this curve which best shows the trend of our modern progress in all material civilization. Our mills, our factories, our workshops of every kind are mainly engaged in supplying our people with the comforts and the luxuries of modern life, and in converting crudeness and barbarism into cultured civilization. Measured by this gauge, we are fifty per cent. more comfortable than in 1880, sixteen times as comfortable as were our parents in 1850, and our children, in 1900 to 1910, will have twice as many luxuries and live twice as easy and comfortable lives, if they choose so to do, as do we to-day.

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Some important conclusions are easily and very positively deducible from the study of these curves and diagrams. Thus:

(1). It is evident that great social and economic laws are in steady, unintermitted operation, covering with broad sweep, industrially as well as chronologically, the trend of modern progress, and controlling the development, in wealth, education, and all material and intellectual lines, of every civilized nation.

(2). These laws insure steady progress, for decades, probably for centuries, and with steady acceleration, as well, and without much regard to "crises," or to what are called good and bad times.

(3). The trend of progress during past decades, and its direction and acceleration at the moment, constitute the best guide in predicting a probable future for our industrial and social system.

(4). This guide indicates a constant gain in rate of progress, as well as in actual accumulation of wealth, in all industrial products, in intellectual capital, and in general improvement.

(5). A point has been reached at which the already enormous, and now rapidly growing, physical power of the world is being mainly directed, in civilized countries, and especially in the United States of North America, to the supply of comforts and luxuries to a people already, on the average, well cared for and insured against suffering and hardship.

(6). Very soon, and probably within another generation, the average citizen will possess comforts and luxuries, and enjoy the advantages of leisure for thought and study and intellectual growth, which are, to-day, the sole possession of those who are distinctively denominated rich. The nation may be expected to become a country of large and well-distributed wealth, and of, on the whole, well-to-do and contented people.

(7). The direct means and methods of progress are through the continual improvement of the arts and sciences, and the steady reduction of the proportion of working power applied to the manufacture of the more perishable forms of wealth, and through the steady gain in the productiveness of that power as a result of improvements in modern machinery and of the introduction of new inventions.

(8). Culture, and all that makes life worth living, will come to the nation, in constantly and rapidly increasing proportion, as

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the progress indicated by our diagrams, and by the smooth sweep of our curves, continues.

(9). Our own nation, through its free institutions, its wise encouragement of the arts and sciences and of invention, already leads, and will lead in still greater and greater degree as time goes on, through the immediate future, and until economic laws—or the follies of social leaders—break the curve which exhibits "The Trend of Modern Progress." Science thus reads us an oracle.

The scientific principle which this article further illustrates is that of a truly logical and scientific form of prophecy. Science, and science only, often can, and frequently does, by a perfectly accurate and correct method, give us clairvoyant views of the immediate, if not often of the remote, future. Of the Trend of Modern Progress, in direction and rate of movement, there is no reasonable doubt.

R. H. THURSTON.

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CROP CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS.

BY HENRY FARQUHAR, ASSISTANT STATISTICIAN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AT WASHINGTON.

THE year 1895 will be agriculturally remarkable in more than one way; but the leading characteristic now indicated for it is a restricted area and wide-spread failure of cotton and winter wheat, joined with a largely increased extent and exceptionally fair promise of Indian corn and potatoes.

It is only a coincidence that this temporary replacement of our leading export staples by these native American products should have come when the season was exceptionally favorable for the change, but the coincidence was singularly fortunate. Several causes had for years been working together to bring down the prices of commodities, and their effect had culminated in 1894; wheat in leading markets had reached a figure never before known, and cotton, a figure equalled only in one or two years, about 1845; the corn price, owing to the shortness of last year's crop, had risen to nearly the wheat level; so that it was altogether natural that the attention of farmers should be turned this year from wheat and cotton to corn. This was shown by a decline in cotton acreage, from which only Texas and Oklahoma were excepted, along with a general contraction of the winter and spring wheat area, reported early in the year to the Department of Agriculture, and followed by high percentages, distributed almost uniformly over the country, of acreage in corn and potatoes. The incalculable and inscrutable visitations of Jack Frost and Jupiter Pluvius, also, were very partial in their treatment of the different crops. A brief history of the progress of the season with a few of our leading farm products will have some degree of general interest.

Winter Wheat.—Acreage sown, as compared with 1893–4, estimated at 103 per cent.; acreage finally harvested, at 96 per cent.

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There was no material falling off in the Pacific Slope region, but the great growing States of the interior—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas—suffered a great reduction in area. Dry weather at seed-time delayed sowing, prevented germination and stunted the plant's growth; severe cold in the winter, followed by abrupt visitations of thaw and frost in the spring, and concluded by a general drought and prevalence of insect pests throughout the principal producing States, did the rest. Many acres beyond the Mississippi were plowed up for corn. The figure for "condition," by which is meant the proportion, expressed as a percentage of the expected crop to a "full" crop—not the crop of the preceding year or of any particular year, or even the average of a series of years, but an ideal crop, the crop accepted as satisfactory to the producer—this "condition" sank for the United States as a whole, from 83 the first of May to 71 the first of June and 66 the first of July. It thus appeared that our farmers generally, just before setting about the harvest of this grain, expected less than two-thirds of a crop. Yet the yield was good in the northern States of the Pacific Slope, and better than usual in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. If the country had to depend for the great bulk of its wheat on these States, the year would be counted among the fat and not the lean ones. The condition at harvest time, both for winter and spring grain, will be reported in September.

Spring Wheat.—The area sown in this grain is reported as within 1 per cent. of 1894, and the condition as very good—98 at the beginning of June, 102 in July, and, notwithstanding great reported, and some actual, falling off, still as high as 96 in August. In the chief spring wheat States, Minnesota and the Dakotas, the season proved much more favorable to this grain than in the great food reservoirs to the south of them.

Hay.—The causes which reduced the area and condition of winter wheat were equally detrimental to clover and timothy. The June report showed that the clover acreage was one-thirteenth less, on the average, than that of the previous year, while the condition was 83 per cent. only. Here, as in the case of wheat, the Atlantic and Pacific slopes showed fairly well, while the great interior region was scourged by dry weather, a severe winter, late frosts, and insects. By July the North Atlantic region had suffered further damage, and the Central States no improvement;

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the only parts of the country that came up to a fair average were the Pacific slope and the South Atlantic and Gulf strip, where little hay is usually raised. Condition had fallen to 74 for clover and 71 for timothy; by the first of August these figures were 67 and 70, with clover estimated at 87 per cent. of standard quality, and an aggregate hay acreage but 91½ per cent. of 1894.

Oats.—Acreage increased by 3 per cent., as reported June 1; average condition at that date, 84; by July, 83, and by August 84 again. Some damage by dry weather and insects in the Central States, but a good crop in the North Atlantic and the Northwest.

Cotton.—Area everywhere reduced this year, in consequence of the low price. Only Florida, Oklahoma and the Indian Territory returned as much as 90 per cent. of last year's acreage; Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina showed barely 80 per cent., while the Cotton States proper were intermediate; general average 85. Nor was this reduced extent at all compensated by improved condition, the figure expressing this being 81 in June, 82 in July and 78 in August. Taking area and condition together, and comparing with last year's August condition of 92, we may infer a total product amounting to but 72½ per cent. of last year's. But this great reduction would still give us some 6,900,000 bales, a larger crop than the country produced in 1892, or in any other year before 1887, with a single exception. The reasons assigned for this year's poor condition are the backward season, by which planting was notably postponed in every State but Florida, and the encouragement given by copious rains to the growth of grass and weeds.

Potatoes.—Area 8 per cent. greater than in 1894; increase generally distributed, including the nine States of largest product, and only seven States showing a decrease. Condition fair; 91 in July and 88 in August. Last year 92 and 74 at same dates, and total crop 170 million bushels. The prospect of a two hundred million bushel crop this year is by no means slender, and an excess over the 1889 figure—our highest hitherto—of 218,000,000 bushels, is altogether possible.

Corn.—The corn acreage shows an all but universal increase, but two States reporting a falling off from last year. General average advance 8 per cent. Condition exceptionally high; 99 in July and 102 in August. The corn record is now held by the

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1889 crop of 2,122,000,000 bushels, although that of 1891, amounting to 2,060,000,000 bushels, had a total value 40 per cent. higher, because that year's failure of cereals in Europe sharpened the demand for breadstuffs. There will be grave disappointment if the 1895 corn crop fails to surpass all previous experience, and a product of 2,460,000,000 bushels may be quite reasonably expected. Last year's crop, cut down by drought to the piteous tale of 1,212,770,000, will in this case be more than doubled. Timely rains have advanced the corn crop in almost every section, particularly in the Cotton States; the same agency that proved adverse to their leading staple has favored the one they substituted for it.

The numbers called for brevity "condition" express in brief compass all that can be predicted for the growing crop. As reported by the correspondents of the Agricultural Department they express so many judgments of what the product is to be, in their several counties, by comparison with what their experience and study of the agriculture of those counties lead them to expect in fairly favorable seasons. A great deal has been thought and said about this subject of the standard for comparison in agricultural estimates. The most convenient mode of reference for the statistician would probably be the average crop, taking the mean yield of a series of seasons, bad and good as they come; this would give us about as many conditions in excess of 100 as short of that figure. Accordingly, in the statistical service of some countries, and some of our States, the reporter is asked to compare his expected yield with an "average yield." In a great number of cases, there can be no question, this comparison is quite accurately and scrupulously made. A record of several years being kept, the mean of all, successes, half-successes and failures, is adopted as 100, and each estimate of a prospective crop-yield is noted according to its proportion to this average. But in a greater number of cases, those who are expected to follow this plan really follow another plan. Having no exact record of a series of years to guide them in striking their average, their standard is derived from their impressions as to what ought to be, more than their knowledge of what has been; it is set by their successes and takes no account of their failures, which it regards as accidental and not normal; so that when they tell you of a "full crop," or an 80 per cent. crop, or a two-thirds crop, they mean that propor-

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tion of a good and not merely a mean crop. The mixture of estimates on this basis with those relating to a regularly determined mean, which must always occur when "average crops" are named, is sufficiently suggestive of confusion to raise very natural doubts of the value of statistical returns in which they occur; and the total effect of such mixture is to give a value to the condition 100 quite different from that contemplated.

This is conclusively proved by examination of the figures themselves. If 100 denotes an average, as pointed out above, there will be about as many returns above 100 as below, in a succession of years. Since, in practice, estimates in this form are sure to show a preponderance of returns below 100, it is evident that 100 really indicates something higher than an average. The records of the United States Department of Agriculture come to the aid of foreign records on this point. Clear as was the understanding of the first statistician, Mr. J. R. Dodge, on this point, and careful as he generally was to insist that his standard was a full yield and not an average yield, the questions as to his peaches and to one or two other fruits, in a few of his circulars, were made for an extended succession of years to relate to condition "compared with an average crop." As a result, the returns are almost solidly below 100, showing that the correspondents interpreted their par of reference as something higher than a mere mean, even when explicitly instructed otherwise. That this habit of fixing a standard higher than the level as often as not attained may be taken as a fixed fact in human nature, is acknowledged in an interesting manner by British testimony. While the agricultural papers of that country have long made a practice of asking for comparisons with an average crop, the *Times*, in its valuable series of crop reports, has adopted the standard of "perfect healthfulness, exemption from injury (due to insect or fungus pests, drought or wet, cold or frost), with average growth and development"; which amounts virtually to the same that has been recognized for many years in agricultural reports on this side of the Atlantic.

Since the choice of a standard condition is determined by the character of the reporters and their habitual manner of thinking, it is not remarkable that some difficulty should be found in converting it to an exact quantity in bushels per acre. As already admitted, the mean of a series of years, if it were possible for

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a great army of untrained reporters practically to apply it, would be more definite and better suited to the purpose of immediate statement in figures. But it is quite possible to make the "full crop" or "normal yield" as exact a measure of quantity as a regularly determined average, by the process of comparing the condition estimate made when the crop is secured with the yield as finally ascertained. For example, if wheat is judged to be 80 per cent. of a full crop when harvested, and the product was afterward found to average 12 bushels per acre over the same territory, it follows that the normal yield answering to the condition 100 must be accepted as 15 bushels per acre.

Mr. Dodge made, in 1892, a calculation of the kind just indicated, from which he found the normal yield of corn, the country over, to have been for a dozen years almost constant at 28.6 bushels per acre. The highest figure was 30.4 and the lowest 27.5, the years 1882–83 being above the average and 1884–87 below, this slight loss being recovered after 1888. Mr. H. A. Robinson, the present statistician of the Agricultural Department, decided a few months ago to make a special inquiry into this question. Every correspondent of the department was accordingly invited to set down in figures the normal yield of wheat, corn, etc., in his county, so that this numerical basis of reckoning might be more directly calculated. Full returns from all parts of the country, received in July and August, gave 29.4 bushels, showing a substantial concordance with Mr. Dodge's estimate, and a general fixity in our standard of corn cultivation. It should be borne in mind, however, that the corn yield of the year 1889 was shown by the eleventh census to be decidedly higher than the value used in Mr. Dodge's calculation (a practically identical total crop having been produced on an area 8 per cent. less than the Agricultural Department's estimate), and that the yields for the years preceding 1889 were doubtless affected similarly, in gradually increasing measure. Allowing for this, and amending the calculation accordingly, the mean normal yield for the fourteen years ending 1894 becomes 29.9 bushels. But in view of the uncertainty of the correction applied, it will be safest to use the number 29.4, directly determined, as expressing what is meant by a corn condition of 100.

A similar computation for wheat shows no such uniformity, but a marked increase, Mr. Dodge's reduction giving 13.7 bushels for

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the years 1881-84, 14.5 for 1885-90, and after those years more than 15. But the census reduced, as in the case of corn, the area estimate of 1889; for the wheat acreage of the Agricultural Department that year, though determined with the usual care and judgment, was no less than 13½ per cent. in excess of that returned by the census. Allowing for this difference, an addition of 1.08 bushels per acre must be made to the actual yield, and 1.23 bushels to the normal yield; so that if we suppose, as appears most reasonable, that this correction was a gradual accumulation, one-tenth of it being applied to the yield from the Department's figures for 1880, two-tenths for 1881 and so on, we find an average of 14.1 bushels per acre for 1881-84, 15.4 for 1885-90 and 15.7 for 1891-94. Mr. Robinson's inquiry of county correspondents, as to the local normal yield in each county, brought results in fairly close agreement with the last of these figures, the average of winter and spring wheat for the whole country coming out 15.6 in July and a little over 15.7 in August. We may follow Mr. Dodge in ascribing the increased wheat yield (equally undeniable whether we are or are not governed by the census returns of acreage) to two causes: movement of cultivation to better lands, particularly in California, and improvement in agriculture generally. Until a further increase is noted the general normal yield or the par of condition for wheat may be accepted as 15.7 bushels per acre; the condition 66 for winter wheat therefore, indicates 10⅓ bushels per acre, or 234,000,000 bushels in the aggregate, while the spring wheat condition 96 indicates a very little over 15 per acre or a total product of 169,000,000 bushels. These figures are preliminary only; correspondents will furnish more precise returns after the crop is everywhere housed, and be yet more precise about the end of the year, after threshing has fairly indicated the quantity and quality of the grain.

The weak point in all the crop statistics of the Agricultural Department is the evaluation of the area sown, or what is known as the acreage of the crop. The yield per acre can be fairly estimated by well-informed and experienced reporters, and the estimate of "condition" is one whose definiteness in practice is even surprising to those who only know how difficult the expression is to define in straight plain English; but for the number of acres, a factor whose ascertainment is vital to a knowledge of the total crop, there is no standard and no mark to guide the explorer back

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to the truth whence he has been led away. The best standard that can be used in practice is the acreage of the census year; but since it is impossible for the estimator to bear that in mind all through the decade, he necessarily has to compare each year with the year before, so that every return of area has in it all the uncertainty of the census determination, added to that of one or more—perhaps ten—independent comparisons, all highly fallible, of this year with the one just preceding. That such a chain of comparisons is capable of leading far astray, is a necessity, and it has been illustrated in more than one place above. But when we have shown a divergence between Department estimates and census returns we have shown by no means the worst feature of the case. In a candid statement of fact, it is necessary to confess that the census acreage figures, in both corn and wheat, have been distrusted. Justly or unjustly, there is a widely prevalent suspicion that the areas in the eleventh census were too low. This suspicion is based to some extent on theories as to wheat consumption per head of population, and it is the office of crop returns to test such theories rather than be tested by them; but a way ought to be found to set these returns above suspicion.

The true way to attain this desirable end is to secure frequent and accurate determinations of the area under all the principal crops, which can only be done by an annual, or at least biennial or triennial, farm-to-farm census. To inquiries as to area others could easily be added without considerable additional labor or expense, but the question of acreage should always be kept foremost, and its precise report be regarded as the main object of the undertaking. It is almost needless to repeat the arguments for frequent agricultural censuses, since they must be clear, cogent and irrefutable in the most hasty consideration of the subject. If such a census were taken every other year, say, not only would all agricultural statisticians and students be furnished with firm ground to stand on, but each and every census would, by the development of greater skill and capacity among those in charge, be better than any of our decennial censuses can now be. If there is a shred of truth in the maxim that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well, the filling of this lamentable gap in the practice of crop reporting is a thing worth doing. The end of the century ought not to see the gap unfilled.

HENRY FARQUHAR.

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THE PETTY TYRANTS OF AMERICA.

BY MAX O'RELL.

It may be asserted that national pride causes every people on the face of the earth to labor under a delusion. The Frenchman honestly believes himself to be the only truly civilized inhabitant of the globe; the Englishman thinks he is the only moral one; and I have no doubt that the American flatters himself that he is the freest. Possibly the Sandwich Islander uses, in reference to himself, some adjective in the superlative, followed by *in the world*, according to American fashion.

Now, as a true-born Frenchman, I am ready to admit that my countrymen express a very fair estimation of themselves; but I hold that the pharisaism of the English is obvious; and as for the Americans being a free nation, why, I maintain that never was a greater mistake made in the world.

I will leave politics alone, although I might tell Jonathan that the governments of England and France, especially of England, are far less autocratic than his. I will leave aside the trusts, the rings, the combinations, the leaders, the bosses, but only name them to take the opportunity of reminding Jonathan that, if the greatest objection to a monarchy is that a nation may thus run the risk of being ruled by a fool or a scoundrel, the greatest objection to certain forms of democracy should be that a nation may thus run the risk of being governed by 500 of such. A great English lord was one day confidentially informed that his steward robbed him. "I know it," he replied; "but my steward sees that nobody else robs me." That English lord was a wise man. And, as for costs, I believe that enough money is spent and enough business is stopped during a presidential campaign in America to keep all the crowned heads of Europe during the four years of the President's time of office.

But enough, I repeat, about politics.

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I say that Jonathan is not a freeman because he is not the master in his own house. Whether he travels or stays at home, he is ruled and bullied and snubbed from morning till he goes to sleep. His disposition is that of an angel, and, whenever I am asked what struck me most in the course of my visits to the United States, I always answer: "I never once saw an American lose his temper."

The American is not a man of leisure. His mind is always on the alert. New schemes are forever trotting about his brains. He is full of business, and trifles do not concern him. Besides, he may happen to dwell at No. 3479 West 178th Street, and he must try to remember where he lives. So he pockets snubs and kicks, and forgets. To lodge a complaint against a rude conductor or an uncivil porter would mean a letter to write or a visit to pay; too much waste of time. "Bother it!" he exclaims, "let him be hanged by somebody else!" He is also a prince of good fellows, and a complaint may mean the discharge of a man with a wife and children.

But this is not the principal reason. The Americans, like the French, have no initiative and lack public spirit. The English are the only people who are served by their servants, let the servants be the ministers of the crown, the directors of public companies, or mere railway porters. To every one to whom John Bull pays a salary he says: "Please to remember that you are the servant of the public." When the English appoint a new official, high or low, it is a new servant that they add to their household. When the French and the Americans appoint a new official, it is a new master that they give to themselves to snub them and to bully them. For example, when the English railway companies started running sleeping cars, the public said to them: "We do not wish to be herded up together like hop-pickers, you will please have the cars divided at night into two parts by a curtain, so that our ladies may be spared the annoyance of having to share a section with a man." I do not know a single American lady who has not told me of that grievance, and how on that account she dreaded travelling alone. Yet I am not aware that the American public has ever told the officials of any railway company in this country: "We pay you, and you shall, please, give such accommodation as will secure the comfort of our women." On one occasion, in a crowded sleeping car from

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Syracuse to New York, I occupied an upper berth, and a lady occupied the lower one. If she only felt half as uncomfortable as I did, I pity the poor woman.

Coming from Washington to New York, a short time ago, every seat in the drawing-room car was occupied. The temperature of that car was about 80. The perspiration was trickling down the cheeks of the passengers, the women were fanning themselves with newspapers, all were stifled, puffing and blowing, hardly able to breathe; but not one dared go and open the ventilators, not one said to the conductor: "Now, this is perfectly unendurable, please to open the ventilators at once." I took upon myself to go and address him; "Don't you think," I timidly ventured, "that this car is much too hot?" "I do not," he said, and he walked away. As I meant to arrive in New York alive, I opened, not the ventilator, but my window. That was a reckless, fool-hardy resolution. The passengers threw at me a glance of gratitude, but there was in that glance an expression of wonder at my wild temerity, and they looked sideways, forward and backwards, to see if the potentate of the train had seen me. I was fairly roused, I was sick, my head was burning, almost split, and I was ready for that conductor if he had come to close my window—and that at the risk of passing for some uncontrollable rebel. The railways of this country are ruled by the nigger and for the nigger.

Then there is the man who, every five minutes, bangs the door of the car with all his might to let you know he has arrived. He will wake you up from a refreshing nap by a tap on your shoulder to inform you that he has laid a magazine on your lap. Then he will return with chewing-gum, then with papers, then with bananas, apples and oranges, then with skull caps, then with books, then with ten-cent pieces of jewelry, from his inexhaustible stores. An Englishman, on whom this kind of unceasing boredom from the time the train starts till the time when it reaches its destination would be tried, would pitch the boy out of the window.

Then there is the refreshment room. You ask for refreshment and you name what you would like to have, and you receive the refreshing answer, invariably accompanied by a frown: "What's that?" You apologize for the poor English you have at your disposal, especially if you have acquired it in England, and you prepare to enjoy a piece of custard pie or apple pie, or

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may be, doughnuts. On leaving the place you pay, and the man at the desk would feel dishonored if he said "Thanks" to you; but I will say this for him that he so little expects thanks for what he brings to you or does for you that if you say, "*Thank you,*" he will cry, "You're welcome," in the tone of, "*What's the matter with you?*" Life is short, time is money, and all these little amenities of European life are dispensed with.

You leave the train and arrive in the hotel. From the tender mercies of the railway conductor you are handed over to the hotel clerk, and, in small towns, to the lady waitress. Not a smile on that clerk's face. He is placid, solemn and monosyllabic. Your name entered on the registry, your sentence is pronounced. You are no longer Mr. So-and-So, you are No. 219. The colored gentleman is close by to carry out the sentence. He bids you follow him. Yours is not to ask questions; yours is to follow and obey. The rules of the penitentiary are printed in your bedroom. You shall be hungry from 8 to 10 A. M., from 1 to 3 P. M., and from 6 to 8 P. M. The slightest infringement of the rules would be followed by the declaration that you are a crank. At the entrance of the dining-room, the head waiter, or the lady head waitress, holds up the hand and bids you follow him or her. Perhaps you recognize a friendly face at one of the tables. Yours is not to indulge in feelings of that sort; yours is again to follow, obey, and take the seat that is assigned to you. During the whole time that altogether I have spent in America I never once saw an American man or woman who dared sit on any other chair than the one that he or she was ordered to occupy. Nay, I have seen the guests timidly wait at the door, when nobody was there to take them in charge, until some one came to order them about. In small hotels you cannot hope to have the courses brought one after the other so that each one may be served hot to you. Your plate is placed in front of you, and the lady waitress disposes symmetrically ten to fifteen little oval dishes around it. When I first made the acquaintance of this lady, and she had dealt the dishes, I exclaimed, looking at her: "Hallo! what's trump?" But there was no trifling with that lady; she threw at me a glance that made me feel the abomination of my conduct.

Complaints are so rare that I once witnessed, in a hotel, a perfect commotion started by an Englishman who had dared

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express his dissatisfaction at the way he was treated. He was in the hall. "This is the worst managed hotel I have ever been in," he exclaimed to the clerk. "Where is the proprietor? I should like to speak to him." The proprietor was in the hall, thoroughly enjoying the scene. He was pointed out to the guest by the clerk. The Englishman, excited and angry, went up to the proprietor.

"Is it you who are running this house?" he said.

"Well," said the proprietor, with his cigar in his mouth and his hands in his pockets, "I thought I was—till you came."

The Englishman looked at him, turned back, paid his bill, and departed.

I am bound to admit that the incivility you meet with in many hotels, offices, shops, etc., is only apparent. They are busy, mad busy, those clerks and shopmen, and do not see why they should indulge in the thousands of petty acts of courtesy that customers expect in Europe, where, for example, shopkeepers have time to write long notices to "respectfully beg the public not to touch the articles exposed for sale." In America, "Hands off" answers the purpose, and the visitors do not feel insulted.

But among the lower class servants of the public, I am persuaded that incivility is simply a form of misunderstood democracy. "I am as good as you" is their motto, and by being polite they would fear to appear servile. They are not as good as you, however, because you are polite to them, and they are not polite to you · but they do not see that. It is not equality, it is tyranny, the worst of tyranny, tyranny from below.

The patience of the American public is simply angelical, nothing short of that. I have seen American audiences kept waiting by theatrical companies more than half an hour. Something was wrong behind the scenes. They manifested no sign of impatience. When the curtain rose, nobody came forward to apologize to them for this obvious want of respect. Once in a New England town, through a train's being late, I arrived at the Opera House three-quarters of an hour after the time my lecture was advertised to begin. "I suppose I had better apologize to the audience," I said to the local manager, "and explain to them why I am late." "Just as you please," he replied, "but I would not. I guess they would have waited another half an hour

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without showing any sign of impatience." The American public expect no courtesy from the people they pay, and they get none.

The people of culture and refinement in America are paying dearly for keeping aloof from politics, and refusing to have anything to do with the government of their country. They are beginning to realize that fact. In everyday life their apathy, their lack of initiative alone can explain their endurance of the petty tyrannies I have only just indicated in these remarks.

If every official were educated up to the fact that he is paid by the state, that is to say, by the people, and that his duty is to administer, to the best of his abilities, to the welfare of the people; if every conductor of every railway company were made to understand that his first function is to attend to the comfort and wishes of passengers; if waiters, waitresses, porters, servants of all sorts, were told that a polite public has a right to expect from them politeness, courtesy and good service, life in America would be a great deal happier.

Americans may say that all this is beneath their notice, but they suffer from it. I do not think that I am one of those Europeans who believe that nothing is done well unless it is done in European fashion. I cannot help thinking that a good deal of happiness is attained in life by amiable intercourse with the people of all the different stations with whom we have to come in contact.

MAX O'RELL.

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THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.

BY EDWARD W. BLYDEN, LIBERIAN MINISTER TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

THE African problem in Africa, which has puzzled a hundred generations of Europeans, is now engaging the earnest attention and taxing the energies of all the powers of Europe. The decision of the Berlin Conference, ten years ago, has placed Europe in relations to Africa such as never before existed between these continents. Every power of Europe, including Russia, has established or is seeking to establish interests in Africa.

The African problem in America, which has existed since the day the first negro landed in Virginia three hundred years ago, instead of losing its interest as the years go by, is deepening in importance and demanding more and more the serious consideration of the people of the United States.

Gratefully availing myself of the opportunity which the courtesy of the Editor of this REVIEW has placed at my disposal, I venture to present to the American public the view of these problems at which the study and travel of years both here and in Africa have enabled me to arrive.

Fifty years ago there was no part of the world of which less was known than the interior of Africa, and in which less interest was taken. When the Landers had achieved their great exploit of proving by actual observation that the Niger had an outlet to the sea and that its banks on both sides were occupied by vast and active populations, their discoveries were not received with half the interest which is now aroused by excavations in the valley of the Euphrates or on the banks of the Nile. The *Edinburgh Review* of that day (July, 1832), rebuked the "very rigid parsimony" of a government which rewarded the labors of the enterprising travellers by a gratuity of *one hundred pounds;* but

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those labors were the prelude of all the modern activity in African exploration and exploitation. The English, as the first of commercial nations, could not rest without ascertaining the natural capacities of a country known to be populous, and without endeavoring to open new and easier routes of communication with it. For the series of explorations which has, within the last thirty or forty years, filled up the larger part of what used to be blank spaces in our maps of Africa, we are indebted almost altogether to the intelligence and enterprise of British travellers—from Livingstone in 1849, to Captain Lugard in 1895. But the conferences of the great powers at Berlin in 1884-5, and at Brussels in 1890, assumed for Europe the continent of Africa as its special field of operation. The "scramble" is over, and now the question is how to utilize the plunder in the interests of civilization and progress.

France has taken the lead by military operations. England has begun her work through chartered companies destined to end in protectorates. Germany has blended the military with the commercial *régime*. But each is proceeding cautiously and learning the best methods by daily experience. They are gradually repairing the waste places and teaching the natives to make the best possible use of their own country, by fitting it up for their own prosperity and preparing it for the exiles in distant lands who may desire to return to the ancestral home.

The task which Europe has imposed upon itself is a vast one—surpassing the labors of Hercules. But intelligence, energy and science will cleanse the Augean stables—the swamps and morasses which disfigure and poison the coast regions. They will destroy the Lernean hydra of African fever. They will bring the golden apples from the hidden gardens of the wealthy interior.

France, in the conquest of Dahomey, has performed a task which civilization has long needed. She has freed a great country from the cruel savagery of ages and thrown it open to the regenerating influence of enlightened nations. The king, who was bound hand and foot by the sanguinary superstitions of his fathers, was relieved by the military energy of the French from his blood-thirsty responsibility, and is now ending his days in bloodless luxury and quiet in the French colony of Martinique, supported like a king at the expense of his captors and de-

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porters. Abomey, his capital, closed for hundreds of years against civilizing agencies, is now the centre of stable rule, of educational and industrial impulse. Mohammedan missionaries, formerly refused admission for religious work, are now directing the attention of besotted pagans to the "Lord of the universe."

The French are assiduous in the administration of the affairs of the countries which, by the decision of the Berlin conference, have fallen within their "sphere of influence." When, by conquest or treaty, they have acquired any territory, they spare no pains in its exploitation and development. The sons of powerful chiefs whom they have conquered in what is now called French Soudan are sent to France or North Africa for education to fit them on their return to take charge of their respective countries and govern them under French supervision in the interest of order and progress. Several Mohammedan youth, the sons of chiefs, were sent last year from Senegal to the Moslem College at Kairawan for education. Natives of intelligence and capacity are promoted to high official positions, and have the Legion of Honor conferred upon them.

England is entering upon her part of the work, not as a stranger. For more than a hundred years she has been engaged in direct recuperative work, having provided Sierra Leone, after abolishing the slave trade, as an asylum for recaptured slaves. In this colony, as well as in those of Gambia, the Gold Coast and Lagos, she has expended vast amounts of money and sacrificed numberless English lives. She has very recently increased her political responsibilities in Western Soudan by taking within her jurisdiction the powerful kingdom of Ashantee, with which she has waged such frequent and expensive wars with results by no means discreditable to her native antagonists. Under the name of the Niger Coast Protectorate, England has also taken the whole of the Niger delta through which flow the great Oil Rivers or estuaries of Benin, Brass, Bonny, Opobo, New Calabar and Old Calabar. There is one feature in which the Niger may defy competition from any other river, either of the old or new world. This is the grandeur of its delta, which is probably the most insalubrious region in all of West Africa. Along the whole coast, from Benin to Old Calabar, a distance of about 300 miles, the Niger makes its way to the Atlantic through the various estuaries just enumerated. Had this delta, like that of

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the Nile, been subject only to periodical inundations, leaving behind a layer of fertilizing slime, it would have formed the most fruitful region on earth, and might have been almost the granary of a continent. But the Niger rolls down its waters in such excessive abundance as to convert the whole into a dreary swamp. This is covered with dense forests of mangrove and other trees of spreading and luxuriant foliage. The equatorial sun, with its fiercest rays, cannot penetrate these dark recesses; it only draws forth from them pestilential vapors, which render this coast more fatal than any other. There is not, however, the slightest doubt, now that British enterprise under government protection has access to that region, that in the course of time those forests will be leveled, those swamps drained, and the soil covered with luxuriant harvests.

Sir Claude Macdonald, to whom was entrusted four or five years ago the duty of establishing the Niger Coast Protectorate, of organizing regular government and enforcing order in that region, has performed his difficult task with admirable ability. He has in that short time created a revenue which more than suffices for the work of administration. He has abolished barbarous customs and suppressed marauding practices. The natives, he has discovered, have a perfect knowledge and appreciation of the immense industrial resources of their country, and a readiness to take advantage of them, together with an aptitude for imitation and a desire for instruction, which are most hopeful indications of progress. They are encouraged to spontaneous activity, and to a love of achievement from which important results must before long accrue. The progress has been rapid as well as steady; and may be measured from month to month, almost from day to day.

The Royal Niger Company, which has brought within British influence vast and important territories, will now, probably, like the British East Africa Company, pass into the hands of the British Government. As this company has been governed by strictly commercial principles, it is feared, from recent occurrences, that the welfare of the native population may be sacrificed to the interest of the shareholders. Perhaps it may be best for all concerned that the regions in question should come under the strict control of a Protectorate, if not formed into a Crown colony.

Germany, considering her inexperience in colonial matters, is developing astounding ability and resources as a colonizing power.

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Her recent decided step, in behalf of native protection, in the punishment of Herr Leist for his abuse of official power in maltreating the natives at Cameroon, has satisfied the people as to her intentions and aims.

Every one has confidence in the philanthropic aims and political and commercial efforts of the King of the Belgians in the arduous and expensive enterprise he has undertaken on the Congo. But none of these powers has any idea of making Africa a home for its citizens. They know that European colonists cannot live in that country. Nature has marked off tropical Africa as the abiding home of the black races. I have met no European agent, either political, commercial or industrial, who thinks that there is any chance for Europeans to occupy inter-tropical Africa. All that Europe can do is to keep the peace among the tribes, giving them the order and security necessary to progress; while the emissaries of religion, industry and trade teach lessons of spiritual and secular life. The bulk of the continent is still untouched by Western civilization, notwithstanding the fact that Africa has been partitioned among the European powers—on paper.

It is an interesting fact that Liverpool, which, in the days of the slave trade, took so prominent a part in the nefarious traffic, is doing more than any other city to push the enterprises of reconstruction into the continent. Her steamship companies and her Chamber of Commerce are the most potent of the European agencies in the work of African regeneration. And both are doing all in their power to bring the natives forward and assist them to develop and take care of their own country. It is commonly supposed that the liquor traffic is decimating the African tribes. There is no doubt that much mischief is done among some of the coast tribes who are in immediate contact with foreign trade. But, notwithstanding the large quantities of vile spirits introduced, very little finds its way to the interior. In my journeys to the *hinterland* of Liberia and Sierra Leone, I have been astonished to find that all evidences of the malignant traffic disappear after one gets about a hundred miles from the coast. Beyond that distance the people, as a rule, are ignorant of the nature or use of ardent spirits. It would be impossible to explain to those of them who have not visited the seaboard the character and purposes of a public house or a rum shop. On returning to the coast

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the unfailing signs of approach to a European settlement or to so-called civilization are empty gin bottles and demijohns. There are three reasons for this exemption of the interior tribes from the blighting traffic.

In the first place, the population of the coast towns and of regions adjacent to the coast are so large, and the love for drink, cultivated for generations, is so strong among them, that all the importations are swallowed up in the maritime districts. Yet each individual seems to have access to so little of this fire-water that it is very rare to see any one "the worse for liquor." Then, the inhabitants of the elevated and healthy regions, robust in body and mind, are satisfied with the natural beverages of the country, and do not crave foreign or abnormal stimulants. Lastly, the people who control the volume of trade in the Soudan are Mohammedans to whom the use of ardent spirits is forbidden by their religion under the severest penalties. But for this fact, the scourge of liquor, whose ravages in the maritime districts Mungo Park deplored a hundred years ago, and the Landers animadverted upon thirty years later, would long since have exterminated or debased millions of that vast multitude who, under the protection of Islam, are increasing in numbers.

Enlightened Christian sentiment in Europe and America is working towards the entire suppression of the demoralizing traffic. The *aborigines* of Africa, then, taking into consideration all the agencies at work, are not likely to share the deplorable fate of the *aborigines* of this country, Australia and New Zealand.

It used to be fashionable some years ago to make disparaging comments upon the home industry of the Africans. Men posing as great commercial authorities informed the world that the trade of Africa was very small and not likely to increase. They assigned as a reason for this opinion that a savage people, living in a climate where clothing is unnecessary and where food can be obtained with little or no labor, would not exert themselves to procure imported articles which they do not absolutely require. But such opinions arose from completely erroneous ideas of the social condition of the African nations generally, and of the degree of civilization in the interior of that continent. Within the last twenty years these views have been completely exploded. Steamers and sailing ships from all the ports of Europe now hug

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the coast for more than two thousand miles, and carry away every day to Europe in exchange for cash and European goods large quantities of native products, such as vegetable oils, palm kernels, piassava, camwood, mahogany, cotton, ivory, hides, coffee, timber, gums, wax and gold. Horses and cattle, sheep, goats, etc., are also brought to the coast for sale.

The able and experienced officers now administering the government of the British Colonies in West Africa—notably Col. Frederic Cardew, of Sierra Leone, and Sir Gilbert Carter, of Lagos—are earnestly recommending the construction of railways from the coast to the interior, their travels to the *hinterland* having convinced them that vast resources may soon be developed by increased facilities of intercourse and transportation. A few weeks ago a deputation from the Manchester, Liverpool, and London Chambers of Commerce waited upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the immediate establishment of railways to meet the growing demands of the trade. Of all this valuable and increasing commerce the voluntary industry of the natives is the only basis,

Africa produces in unlimited quantities articles of prime necessity to civilization, which can not be obtained in anything like the same quantities from any other country.

In the interior the natives have reached a degree of civilization not suspected by the outside world. Most of the tribes have fixed habitations and defences round their towns; they cultivate their lands; they wear cotton dresses of their own manufacture, dyed with native dyes; and they work in iron and gold. The native loom is very primitive, but the native cotton is excellent. The native cotton dresses are much thicker and better than any produced in Manchester, whose manufacturers try hard to imitate them. The African dyes are far brighter and more enduring than the foreign. The African indigo is said to resist the action of light and acids better than any other. Still, the interior Africans, who are a great trading people, patronize foreign goods and are multiplying their purchasing power. The beneficial effects of trade are now perceived for hundreds of miles around the settlements, large tracts of land having been brought under cultivation.

The introduction of foreign cloth into the interior instead of diminishing the manufacture of the native article has increased

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it, and it more than holds its own side by side with the foreign product, the natives decidedly preferring the African original to the European imitation, and paying much higher prices for it. They sometimes buy English "bafts"—the trade term for the pieces of cotton of which their dresses are made—which are a clever imitation of their own make, but only because they are very much cheaper. As long as the Africans retain their superiority in manufacturing cotton goods, foreign competition will not interfere with the work produced by their primitive appliances.

They also manufacture their own agricultural implements from iron taken from the soil. They make beautiful gold trinkets and their workmanship in that metal is not only curious, but often really beautiful. The gold mines of Bouré, in the interior of Sierra Leone, and others in the interior of Liberia, yield abundantly with the application of very little labor or capital.

There is nothing in Africa resembling the poverty which one sees in Europe. The natives in some regions plant a portion of their land especially for the stranger and wayfarer, so that they can indulge in a hospitality unknown in civilized countries—a genuine and unpremeditated hospitality. Cameron, the English traveller, author of "Across Africa," told me that on one occasion when in the heart of the continent, several weeks' journey from the coast, his supplies gave out and he had nothing to offer the natives in exchange for the necessaries of life; but he experienced no inconvenience, much less suffering. He was the object of abundant and assiduous hospitality from people who had never seen him before and who would never see him again. "In what country of Europe or America," he asked, "would such a thing be possible?"

Great as have been the changes which have taken place during the last ten years in the condition of Africa so far as its relation to Europe is concerned, vaster changes still are impending in connection with the central portion of the continent—a region of incalculable extent which seems still fresh, as it were, from the hands of God and only waiting for the energies of civilized man to bring to perfection the numerous products of its prolific soil.

The feeling for progress and achievement awakened and impelled by enlightened and vigorous government on the coast must lead to important results in the near future, which cannot

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but have a decided and salutary influence, not only upon the people at home, but upon the condition of their children in exile in foreign lands. But development and progress in Africa will linger until the United States, both government and people, black and white, take a wider and deeper practical interest in the affairs of that continent. Europe cannot do what America can for Africa.

We have thus far been considering what Europe is doing in and for Africa. We now come to those efforts in that continent which are of more immediate interest to the public of the United States. The Republic of Liberia owes its origin to American benevolence. It is the only spot in Africa where the civilized negro—the American negro—without alien supervision or guidance is holding aloft the torch of civilization and the symbol of Christianity, endeavoring to establish government on principles recognized by the civilized world and in international relations with the leading nations: a country to which thousands of Africa's descendants in the Southern States are looking as the only place where they can obtain relief from their disabilities, and a field for the unhindered cultivation and untrammeled development of their peculiar gifts as a people.

The discussion of this subject will lead to a brief consideration of the African problem in this country. The statesmen who organized the government of the United States were as clear as to the nature of the present race problem, which their sagacity recognized from afar, as are the statesmen of to-day—perhaps clearer. Thomas Jefferson foresaw the emancipation of the slave, and he foresaw also the difficulties—insuperable difficulties—that must attend the residence in one country of two distinct races to whom intermarriage and social equality would be impossible. One race ruling and dominant, the other possessing no birthright of power, there being between them no such sympathy as would make their interests everywhere and always identical. He, therefore, conceived the idea of a separation, and some of his contemporaries or immediate successors, laid the foundation of a society for the deportation of the blacks to the land of their fathers—not, as some of their opponents at that time suggested, to rivet more securely the fetters of the slave, but to provide an asylum and a field of operation for the freed man.

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1817 in

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the city of Washington, where it is still represented by an office, an executive committee, a secretary and treasurer. The society sent out the first emigrants in 1820, and in 1821 founded the colony which they called Liberia—land of the free. The capital of the colony was called Monrovia after President Monroe, who gave practical aid to the enterprise.

The ship "Elizabeth," the "Mayflower" of Liberian history, sailed from New York, having on board eighty-eight emigrants, on the 6th of February, 1820. She had favoring breezes and made the voyage in about thirty days, arriving at Sierra Leone March 9. The immigrants, after trying several localities in the neighborhood of Sierra Leone, at length obtained a foothold at Cape Mesurado, about 260 miles southeast of Sierra Leone, where they established the settlement of Monrovia.

In 1847 they became an independent republic upon the model of the United States. This responsibility was forced upon the colony by the anomaly of its position. Founded and fostered by a private society, with no official recognition from the United States Government, it was exposed to, and was frequently the victim of, impositions from unscrupulous slave traders and others who would not respect the laws enacted by the colony. Under these circumstances it, of course, looked for official recognition as a nation to the United States, but, owing to the "peculiar institution," such recognition could not be granted. It subsequently sought and obtained acknowledgment from Great Britain and other European powers, under the name and style of the Republic of Liberia.

The natural advantages of the country in the way of soil and climate place it in the front rank of West African countries. Every visitor sees at a glance the immense possibilities of the youthful nation—agricultural, mineral, commercial and political. What it now needs is capital and intelligent negro immigrants from the western hemisphere—farmers, mechanics, preachers and school teachers.

An unfortunate law, which the founders of the State considered necessary to its integrity and protection, excludes the white man from citizenship. The state of the world and the relations of the races when this exclusive enactment was passed, sixty or seventy years ago—made, by the way, *for* the colonists by white American citizens—no doubt furnished a reason and an excuse

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for it. But in a few more years it may come within the range of Liberian practical politics to modify, if not altogether abolish, that law as being behind the spirit of the age, and obstructive.

Since the founding of Liberia, seventy-four years ago, not quite twenty thousand negroes all told have gone to that colony. And yet in spite of this limited immigration and in spite of the fact that they have had very little foreign aid, they have brought into operation upon that coast, which they found in a wild and savage state, such agencies, political, commercial and industrial, that they were thought worthy, about fifty years ago, to be received into the family of nations and have ever since been performing, without discredit, the functions of national life. They are in treaty relations with all the great powers of Europe, with the United States and other American nationalities. They have diplomatic and consular officers in Europe and America. Commercially they attract steamships and sailing ships from the principal European ports.

The culture of coffee is extending in Liberia, and several of her citizens, immigrants from the United States, who went out with very small capital or none at all, and devoted themselves to agriculture, are now in affluent circumstances.

In presenting these facts it is not my purpose to urge any to go to Liberia. I believe that the interest and sympathy which have been awakened among the negroes of the South preclude any necessity for such a stimulant. If the United States government would supply the means thousands would rush to that country. No warnings, admonitions or predictions of possible disaster would deter them. They would rush forth in unthinking multitudes and precipitate upon themselves and upon the unfortunate country which admitted them a state of things the horrors of which it would not be possible to exaggerate. No greater evil could befall Africa or the negro race at the present time than an exodus of negroes from the United States.

I do not ignore the sad aspects of the condition of the race here. We hear nearly every day of acts being perpetrated upon negroes in certain sections of the country which drive some to say, "Anywhere but here." These acts are deplorable; perhaps, in many instances, indefensible; but certainly dangerous and pernicious to the last degree, not to blacks only but to whites also. But emigration will not cure these evils. They are symp-

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toms of a disease which can be eradicated only by a wider and deeper education of blacks and whites alike.

The present generation of white men and the present generation of black men must pass away. A new generation of each race, strangers to the abnormal facts of slavery and its monstrous offshoots, must arise before any extensive colonization of American blacks in Africa can answer its great purpose. The negro problem must be solved here or it will reappear in Africa in a new form. The negro must learn to respect himself here before he will be able to perform the functions of true manhood there. Should he leave this country now, harrassed and cowed, broken in spirit and depressed, ashamed of his racial peculiarities and deprecating everything intended for his racial preservation, he would be destitute of the tenacity and force, the self-reliance and confidence, the faith in himself and in his destiny, which, as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, would guide him in the policy to be adopted toward the man like himself whom he will find on his ancestral continent.

A handful of people on the margin of the continent is a very different thing from a million with imperfect views of themselves and their work. But will the negro ever attain to full manhood under a dominant race? No; not now. On one hand, all those who held him as a slave and their children, and on the other, all those who felt the iron of slavery penetrate their souls and *their* children, must pass away before things will reach a somewhat normal state.

I consider, therefore, that all agitation for the movement of large masses of negroes to Africa is at the present time unwise and premature. Not so, however, the effort to awaken a missionary spirit among the blacks, and to diffuse information which will stimulate effort on that line, and induce individuals, or small colonies, to go out with some definite object in view for the religious or industrial improvement of the country. Meanwhile, everything should be avoided by the masses who remain which would aggravate the situation, and everything studied and pursued which makes for peace and harmony. What I would inculcate upon the negro in the United States now is a modest temperateness of behavior—an unpretentious and unambitious deportment, which is not only in accordance with the tendencies of his own nature left to itself, but is, I consider, the chief and soundest

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blessing to which his destinies in America invite him. Politics at present is not his field. He is as yet but a newcomer in the arena of even personal freedom—not more than a generation from chattelism. The fact is, I do not believe that the masses of the negroes in the South, *when let alone*, trouble themselves about politics; they are very little disposed to take part in a strife which to them is barren, uninteresting and often perilous; and it is to be regretted if any extraneous influence should be brought to bear upon them to turn into partisanship what, under the circumstances, must be considered a salutary indifference. He can bide his time. He will not die out—he is not dying out. According to the Census Bulletin No. 48, it appears that the colored population increased from 1880 to 1890, 856,800; or 85,680 a year, about 243 a day, or 10 an hour. Such agencies as that at Tuskegee, under Mr. Booker T. Washington, which are preparing him for his work in this country and in Africa, if he goes there, should be encouraged. All bitterness and darkness of spirit, all sour unreasonableness, should be laid aside. By his cheerful, musical spirit, and by all that is implied in his inimitable gift of song, the negro may construct for himself here, to be taken with him when he goes to Africa, walls within which will dwell peace and palaces within which will be plenteousness. And when the time comes for the departure of large numbers—for anything like an exodus—the separation of the races will be marked by affectionate regrets on both sides.

EDWARD W. BLYDEN.

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OUR REVIVING BUSINESS.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

A DISTINGUISHED English statistician, in a paper recently given to the public, has called attention to the unprecedented wealth of the people of the United States and the products at their command. No clearer demonstration could be had of the accuracy of his estimate of our country's condition than is now being witnessed in every part of the land. All the many evidences of the new prosperity to be everywhere seen bear proof of the recuperative powers of our people and the abundance of their resources. After more than two years of continuous financial depression and business stagnation, the summer months of the present year have been notable for the volume of trade which, as compared with similar seasons in other years, has characterized them. This unusual activity has not been confined to a single line of business or to but one class of manufactures. It has been manifest in all, and almost uniform in degree. The iron and steel industries, which appear to outstrip all others, are enabled to do so only because prosperity is coming to all. The railroad conditions of the country are improving, not alone because of the enormous crop of corn and other agricultural produce to be freighted, but because of the increase in the general carrying trade. The voluntary raising of the wages of more than a million laborers in mill, factory and mine, within a few months, has seldom if ever before been witnessed even in times of acknowledged and uninterrupted prosperity. This advance to the laborers has directly and indirectly benefited so many others who are engaged in trade, individually small but aggregating many millions of capital, that it is impossible to say just who of all our people has not gained from the improved condition of the laboring classes. The gov-

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ernment has shared in the advantage, though in a less degree than the individual. Its receipts are now steadily increasing, each month of the present year showing larger returns from customs duties than the corresponding month of the preceding year. If its income is not yet sufficient to meet its expenditures, there is every indication that under the operation of the present tariff law that end will be speedily reached. There certainly will be no gradual falling off in this respect, such as characterized the workings of the last law.

This improvement in the people's affairs is remarkable when it is considered in connection with the shortness of the time in which it has been brought about and the events through which the country has been called to pass. The effects of the panic of 1873 were felt with little lessening of severity until 1879, and even then there was no such revival as is now apparent. Two years after the panic of 1893 was at its height, the country may fairly be said to be out of the throes of it, and well entered upon an era of greater wealth and of extraordinary commercial and industrial activity. So great an advance is all the more wonderful in view of the circumstances which, to a greater or less degree, have contributed to the disturbance of our business world. Within a period of six years more business legislation of importance has taken place than during any equal length of time since the active war period. During this time the McKinley Tariff Act became a law, making the most material changes in tariff rates, the effect of which could not but be to disturb business, since these changes altered conditions as completely as if the rates had been intended to be revenue-producing instead of prohibitory ones. The same Congress placed upon the statue books the Sherman Silver Act, the influence and dangerous tendencies of which in the monetary world worked even greater harm and loss and caused greater doubt and uncertainty than the tariff act. These acts were followed by a Congressional election, giving indications of a coming Presidential election which would reverse the tariff and financial legislation which had been enacted by the Republican Congress and sanctioned by a Republican President. The injurious consequences of the two legislative acts referred to had been felt long before the Presidential election which resulted in the selection of a Democratic President and Congress, and they speedily precipitated a struggle to repeal the financial legislation

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of the Congress of 1888; also to repeal its tariff legislation and enact something in its stead. The uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the attempt to repeal the Sherman Silver Act and the delay in accomplishing it affected the entire business of the country. The beneficial effects which would have followed the speedy erasure of the obnoxious measure from the statute book were thus lost. There was not sufficient time for either the commerce or the industries of the country to revive when Congress entered upon a consideration of the repeal of the McKinley Tariff Act. Here, too, was delay and uncertainty. Such a condition in the enactment of legislation could not but cause a paralysis of business widespread and far-reaching. The disastrous effects of the Sherman law, the contributing elements of the McKinley Act, and the consequences of delay in the action of Congress in their repeal of both, so turned the business world upside down that strikes became the order of the day, and disturbances in the ranks of labor, of proportions till then unknown, followed in quick succession. The movement of Coxey and his body of tramps, the riots attendant upon the railroad strikes under the leadership of Debs, and the long dispute between coal-mine owners and miners in the various parts of the country but added to the conditions, already serious, which affected our business world. Fortunately the country has come out of all these experiences, each of which added something to the elements which injuriously affected the country's financial interests. In the light of them all the wonder is not that the country has lost so much, but that it has lost so little. It is the strongest tribute that can be paid to the American citizen to note that to-day, notwithstanding the disasters attendant upon these recent events, he is once more enjoying the fruits of a new prosperity full of hope in the future and more strongly than ever a believer in the strength of his government and the wisdom of those who established it.

It has been suggested by some who are inclined to take a pessimistic view of things that the advance made in so short a time is far too great to be sustained. The facts, however, as we have them through the Clearing House returns and other sources, warrant the assertion that the improvement in the business world is not of an ephemeral character, but, instead, is genuine and substantial. It certainly cannot prove to be otherwise if the fields of corn now maturing in the West yield the number of

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bushels which all the indications point to. It is impossible to conceive of the country not being wholly prosperous when the laborer has employment at remunerative wages, and the farmer has an abundance of produce, with markets affording profitable prices. The only danger which can intervene, and thus produce a reaction, would arise through our people's entering extravagantly upon enterprises of a wholly speculative character. It is hardly probable, however, that such recklessness will be speedily shown. The results of such enterprises in the past few years have, in the great majority of instances, fallen so far short of the expectations of their projectors that those who have money to invest will be loath to invest in similar undertakings.

One of the serious causes of conditions similar to those through which we have just passed arises from the utter recklessness with which credit is extended to those who make it a business to promote this or that undertaking. The banks of the country are in a great measure to blame for having in the past few years made credit so cheap as to enable every character of speculation to be carried on. The outcome of all this has been that in many instances in many communities business booms of the most unsubstantial character have been fostered, to the great loss of all concerned. It is, of course, necessary to assume greater or less risk in order to increase the business of a community, but when the point is reached at which a bank or other financial institution bears the whole burden of sustaining every promotive undertaking in such community disaster must necessarily result. The number of communities in all sections of the country where inducements in the form of grants of land and bonuses in the form of money or other special privileges are extended to factories and other enterprises of a similar character will probably greatly lessen, because of the ill success which in so many instances has heretofore followed their so doing. When such is the case, it is safe to say that fewer town lot additions will be platted and made a part of every ambitious town solely for the purpose of enriching some shrewd real estate speculator. At the same time there will be greater care observed in seeing that such artificial means are not wholly relied upon for making such towns important centres of industry and population. The unhealthiness of the business of a community based wholly or in part upon speculation can best be appreciated when it is realized that its character partakes

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largely of gambling, with all the consequent evils that come in its train. While it is probable that this character of business undertaking was not as great within the past five years as in some periods of our history, it has been sufficiently large to contribute in no small measure to bring about the loss entailed upon so many within the past two years. It certainly has bred very great extravagance in personal expenditures, and the same things characterizing legislation in Congress have led to great extravagance in public expenditures. The wisdom of the situation is to indulge in a conservatism that, while on the one hand not refusing credit to legitimate enterprises, will on the other not extend it to such as are based largely upon future expectation. All this, it is believed, will be done, even though for a considerable length of time money will lie idle in the vaults of the banks and the trust companies. The loss of interest and dividends thus caused in the end is always much less than the loss which follows the collapse of a boom.

Thus, taking into account the lessons learned through the experience which our people have just had, it is reasonable to believe that such wise conservatism will prevail in our business world as will justify the belief of those who maintain the solidity of the present business conditions. No one at all familiar with its affairs will doubt that the credit of the government will be strictly maintained. There ought no longer to be any doubt on this point. The steps taken since the advent of the present administration have fixed beyond question not only the determination but the ability on its part to meet promptly every proper obligation of the government in gold. Its efforts in this direction have been so fully justified by the results which have flowed from them that there is scarcely left one among the well informed who is willing to criticise the action which thus far has been taken. It is to be regretted that the general government bears such intimate relations to the individual business of its citizens, that the condition of its treasury should ever seriously affect their individual fortunes, but such must be the case on occasions more or less frequent, until there is assembled at Washington a Congress, which has sufficient wisdom, business sagacity, and courage to enact such legislation as will permanently retire the demand obligations of the government, through payment of them in gold, and thus put out of the reach of speculators and

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others the means of throwing the country into a panic by making an assault upon the gold reserve in the treasury. It is one of the absurdities of our financial system that the government voluntarily places itself in the position of being a general market of supply for the gold demands of not only our own people but the people of other countries. The whole system as it stands to-day is a source of continuing loss to the people and a menace to their prosperity. It is only because of the strength and determination of the President in devising and in sanctioning methods to prevent evils that otherwise would come upon the citizen in his business relations that the country has been enabled, despite it all, to maintain a position where its financial condition commands complete confidence at home and abroad.

How much it means to possess the confidence of those who are dealing with us in our ability and purpose to maintain unimpeached our monetary integrity is apparent from the change which has come over foreign investors in American governments and other securities since the consummation of the syndicate gold loan. Statistics are not at hand to show just what the amount of purchases by foreign buyers of our securities since that date have been, but the sales of railroad and other stocks have been especially large and at advanced prices. Not less benefit has resulted also from a ceasing to return to us stocks and securities already held. The importance of all this cannot be over-estimated. It is quite as essential to command the confidence of foreign investors as it is to hold that of our own people. This confidence, which leads them to send here money for investment, can be held just so long as there is here maintained a monetary system which accords with that of every other great commercial nation. It will fall away and finally be lost if ever a law is placed upon our statute book making our standard of value, independent of all other countries, either a single silver standard or a standard of both silver and gold.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

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A BRUSH WITH THE BANNOCKS.

BY GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

IN THE summer of 1878 I organized an expedition to move into and explore a wagon route and telegraph line west of Fort Keogh, to reconnoitre the country, and also to visit Yellowstone Park. I selected a command from among the most experienced veterans of the Indian Territory and the Northwest; and then with a strong wagon train, a well-equipped pack train, and all the appliances, camp equipage, and field equipment necessary, we leisurely moved up the Yellowstone. The party consisted of ten officers, four civilians, five ladies, and three children.

We moved up the Yellowstone to the mouth of the Rosebud; thence up that beautiful valley to its head, practically going over the route followed by Custer's command; thence over the high divide to the Little Big Horn, camping near the battle ground where the massacre occurred, and making a second examination of the ground, the topography of the country, and the distance between the different forces. In this second examination we were accompanied by some of the prominent actors in that tragedy on the side of the hostile Indians.

Moving up the Yellowstone was a continuous delight; the country was covered with rich verdure and the trees were in full foliage; game was abundant, and the waters of the upper Yellowstone were filled with delicious trout. The officers rode on horseback, and the ladies and children, occasionally in wagons, were more frequently in the saddle.

After ten or twelve days' march, as we neared the Yellowstone Park, I received information that the Bannocks had gone on the war path in Idaho, were committing depredations, and were coming through Yellowstone Park, threatening to invade our own

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territory. Of course, this meant serious business and I at once prepared to check any such invasion on their part.

Sending the non-combatants to the nearest military post, Fort Ellis, just a short distance from where Boseman now stands and immediately adjoining the National Park, I started with seventy-five men to make a forced march and occupy the passes of the mountains through which it was natural to suppose the Bannocks would attempt to go, on their way east. It had been their habit to go through the mountains during the summer season to trade with the Crow Indians or hunt buffalo. There were two passes through which they could travel, one of which was known as the Boulder Pass, a very rough and difficult trail, and the other was Clarke's Fork Pass, which was a distance of approximately one hundred and fifteen miles from our starting point. In order to meet all chances, it became necessary for me to divide my small force. Believing that they would be less likely to go out through the Boulder than through Clarke's Fork Pass, I sent Lieutenaut Bailey with forty men to occupy the former position, while with the balance of the men I proceeded to the other.

I had already sent forward scouts to the Crow agency, urging the Crow Indians to join us in the expedition against the Bannocks. The Crows had always been loyal to the government and friendly to the whites, but as at the same time they had also been friendly with the Bannock Indians, they hesitated about going against them. The importance of arresting any hostile body of Indians liable to commit depredations on other reservations and neighboring settlements was explained to them. They were also offered rations and ammunition and all the stock that they could capture from the Bannocks. In consideration of these inducements, they agreed with the scout that I had sent forward to go on the arrival of the command. When we did arrive, seeing the small body of thirty-five men march past, they inquired how soon the command would get there. They were assured that although this was the only command we had, it was composed entirely of experienced Indian fighters, that every man in it was a medicine man, and that we needed no greater force to go against the Bannocks. But in spite of all we could say, they decided that they would not go with such a squad as that, so we told them to remain where they were.

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The command moved on, and in the course of an hour two strong, hardy, brave-looking Crow warriors rode up and joined us, saying that they were not afraid of anything and were going with the command. Their example was followed by others, the bravest first and the most timid last, until we had been joined by seventy-five Crow warriors. It then appeared more like an Indian expedition than anything else.

As rapidly as possible we crossed the country, taking but little rest, and by forced marches reached the vicinity of Clarke's Fork Pass, discovering that up to that time there had been no sign of the Bannock Indians. The command was concealed in a "pocket" in the mountains, a name given by hunters and trappers to a very small park surrounded by high buttes and steep cliffs. The soldiers, Indians, horses, pack mules, all were kept concealed, and a few scouts sent out to occupy the crests of the high buttes and, using their field glasses or telescopes under the cover of some cedar or pine bush, to discover the first sign of the approach of the hostile Indians. Occasionally an officer would be detailed to crawl up the heights and examine the country—especially Clarke's Fork Pass—with his glass; but he was instructed never to reveal as much as the top of his head over the crest unless it was covered by some bush or tall grass.

On the following morning about eleven o'clock the hostile Bannocks were seen to appear on the top of a mountain, and slowly wind their way down the circuitous rocky trail, a distance of three or four miles, moving along down Clarke's Fork, and going into camp in the valley within six miles of the command. They unsaddled and turned out their horses (quite a large herd), posted their videttes or lookouts on the bluffs immediately adjacent to the camp, built their camp fires, and settled down, apparently confident of their safety, and utterly unconscious of the enemy concealed in their vicinity.

To approach their camp it was necessary to pass over a level plain of two or three miles in extent, and the lookouts or videttes would have discovered the command the moment it debouched from its place of concealment. Having once discovered it, it would be but the work of a moment for the Indians to jump on their ponies and escape over the foot hills and rugged passes of that mountainous region. We therefore decided to remain in our place of concealment, from which we watched the

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camp all that day, and then at night moved slowly down to within two miles of it.

At nine o'clock that night I called the two Indians who had first followed us from the Crow agency, and told them that I wanted them to discover the condition of the Bannock camp. An Indian wrapped in his blanket could crawl up under cover of the darkness and walk near a hostile Indian camp without being detected, whereas a white man would be immediately recognized. This was especially so as the night was dark and rainy, and the Bannocks were curled up sheltering themselves from the rain and cold, and if the Crow scouts had been seen, wrapped as they were in their blankets, they would have very likely been mistaken for some men belonging to the Bannock camp, walking about looking out for their horses.

The Crow scouts returned between twelve and one o'clock, and reported that the Bannock camp was in a very strong position, difficult to approach, with the sage brush as high as a horse's back about it, and that if we attempted to take it we would be whipped. The rain had then been pouring down in torrents for several hours, and the conditions were anything but cheerful.

For this dangerous, hazardous, and valuable service, these two men were afterward well rewarded, but they were told at the time that the attack would be made at daybreak, and the Crows were expected to assist—at least they were expected to capture the herd of horses, and they were then directed to guide us to the hostile camp. Slowly and noiselessly, the command moved in the direction in which the camp was supposed to be, stopping to listen in the dark, and occasionally making long waits for some ray of light or other sign to direct them. When we had moved to a distance that we believed would place us very near the camp, we halted and waited until about four o'clock or after, as we were not sure of its exact location or direction. Fortunately a dim light suddenly appeared on our left, about five hundred yards distant, indicating the exact locality of the camp, and that we had almost passed it.

The troops were formed in skirmish line, and the center directed to guide on this light, which was evidently caused by some one just starting a fire for the morning, and as good a line as could be arranged in the dark was made. The Crows were told

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to take position on the right of the line. The troops moved slowly and cautiously in the direction of the light, passing through the grazing herd of horses and ponies. A halt was occasionally made in order to wait until the troops could see a short distance, and it was noticed that, as we passed through the herd, the Crow warriors gradually commenced to quietly move off some of the Bannock horses, and instead of remaining on the right of the troops where they had been placed, they gradually worked to the left, and as they did so drove the herd to the rear. As day broke the troops were enabled to see, and they moved forward until they got within a hundred yards of the camp before opening fire.

The Indians were taken completely by surprise; some of them jumped into the river and swam to the other side, about fourteen of the warriors were killed and the balance of the camp surrendered. The fight lasted but a short time and was over by six o'clock in the morning.

Before the affair was over there was scarcely a Crow Indian and not a single Bannock horse to be seen in the valley. While the Crows had been useful on account of their formidable numbers, the principal object of their attention was the herd of captured horses. While some of them did not stop until they had reached the agency, a distance of seventy-five miles, where they arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon, others left their captive stock in the hands of their friends four or five miles back in the foot hills and returned to the assistance of the troops. They did good service especially in calling out to the enemy to surrender and capturing scattered Bannocks; also in capturing a small party that came into the valley later and were evidently following the main band with a lot of stolen horses, one day behind.

I had sent the interpreter on ahead from the Crow Agency, as we marched out to go up to Clarke's Fork, to see what he could find out about the enemy. He could speak both Crow and Bannock. When he had gone over the pass and into the park he met the Bannocks on the other side of Clarke's Fork Pass. They asked him if there were any troops in the neighborhood. He replied "No," and then they said they wanted to go over and trade with the Crows. After leaving them he passed on as if journeying in the same direction from whence they had come, until he had got a safe distance away, and then circled around

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and reported to me the night before the attack. He was a good man and was killed in that fight.

The affair was a very disastrous one to the Indians, eleven of their number being killed and a great many wounded, while the entire camp was captured with 250 animals.

Our loss was small in numbers, but among the killed was Captain Andrew S. Bennett, of the Fifth Infantry, a most accomplished, meritorious, and valuable officer. It was a sad sight as his friends gazed upon his dead body, which Surgeon Redd had placed against a tree, with the shoulders bare, in order to examine the wound. The bullet hole was in the centre of his breast, and had evidently caused instant death. His features were as white and perfect as if chiselled from marble, and he looked like an ideal hero. It seemed hard that this true patriot, who had risked his life on many a hard-fought battlefield, both during the war and on the frontier, must meet his death far away in that wild and rugged region, amid the eternal snows of the mountains. His body was tenderly cared for and sent East to his relatives in Wisconsin.

The command remained beside the rapid, clear trout stream that came down from the mountains, during that day, and in the evening witnessed the burial of one of the Crow warriors who had been killed in the fight and had been a very popular man in the tribe. After his body had been arranged for its final resting place, and bedecked with all the valuables that he had possessed, as well as some belonging to his friends, and his grave had been prepared on the butte near the camp, his body was lifted on the shoulders of four of his comrades, who slowly moved up the side of the butte chanting their sorrow in low, mournful tones, while the other Indians bewailed his loss according to the custom of their people.

NELSON A. MILES.

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PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

IX.—INTRIGUE AND CORRUPTION.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

If the *chronique scandaleuse* of the Second Empire were not so inextricably mixed up with its political history, I would fain have kept my pen clean of the former altogether. When one stands confronted with a *régime* which, during its eighteen years' existence waged four formidable wars, not one of which on careful examination seems to have been necessitated by the nation's welfare, the natural impulse is to look for the causes of such wars below the surface.

And a glance below the surface reveals, behind that glittering Court which every one knows, with its ambassadors, chamberlains, generals, ministers, and ladies of honor, a seething mass of intrigue and corruption to find the like of which we must revert to the reigns of Charles II. in England and of Louis XV. in France. True, there is no titular mistress of the Emperor, either in the shape of a Lady Castlemain, a Duchess of Portsmouth or a Marquise de Pompadour, but it is doubtful whether erstwhile Mrs. Palmer, Louise de Kéroualles and Madame d'Étioles were more fatal to the Stuart and the Bourbon than the women who surrounded the nephew of the great Bonaparte. Not one, save Princesse Clotilde inspired the public with that respect which is the first and foremost condition of the prestige of a dynasty whether that dynasty be hereditary, founded by the sword or intrigue as were the dynasties of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon. Of one thing we may be sure, in spite of the cheers that greeted the Empress in public; the French people spoke of the ultra-fashionable throng that surrounded her as the English of the latter

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end of the seventeenth century spoke of the court beauties of Charles II., as the French of the middle of the eighteenth century spoke of the *grandes dames* of Louis XV.'s Court. And the gossip, an attractive dish of truth and fiction, especially where the Empress herself was concerned, spread over the borders of the land; and, as in the days of Charles II. and Louis XV., found its way to the Courts of Europe. Smart attachés, if not their chiefs themselves, sent amusing accounts of the *faits et gestes* of the women and men that foregathered at Compiègne, Fontainebleau, and the Tuileries; accounts which vitiated beforehand all the serious documents emanating from the Quai d'Orsay; the recipients of the latter refusing to take *au sérieux* the political aspirations of a sovereign who tolerated around him a society to the full as profligate and corrupt as that which had danced and disported itself in the *salons* and gardens of Versailles under the *ancien régime.*

I have already indicated, at the beginning of the fifth part of these papers, the source of the following notes. There is no indication as to their exact date, nor were they all written at the same time, but several events to which they refer incidentally show them to belong to the first half of the sixties.

"I have just returned from Compiègne, where I had not been for three years, and was irresistibly reminded of a conversation with Vély Pasha at a dinner party at the Tuileries shortly after the Emperor's marriage. The haunted look we noticed then on the faces of the courtiers and even on those of the sovereigns has altogether disappeared. *On s'amuse ferme,** and I am not at all certain whether they are not enjoying themselves a little too much, and in a fashion not altogether calculated to enhance the prestige of the dynasty with the other courts of Europe. I must confess that my previsions, or let me say my expectations, in that respect have been woefully disappointed, although, at the outset, they bade fair to be realized. I did not for a moment imagine that the Tuileries would become dowdy, dull, and respectable the greater part of the year and ridiculously *bourgeois* on so-called grand occasions, as it was in the days of Louis Philippe; but I fancied that the golden mean would be observed; I fancied that the society there would become a cross

* A paraphrase of a French commercial term "acheter ferme," that is, buying outright without any restrictions.

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between that of Versailles in the most brilliant days of Louis XIV. and that of the First Empire at its most prosperous period; in other words, I fancied that part of the Faubourg St. Germain would gradually rally to the Second Empire, and neutralize by its grand air and unimpeachable manners the too obviously *soldatesque sans-façon*, from which even the best of Napoleon III.'s marshals and generals—with the exception of Macmahon—are not wholly free, the somewhat too conquering attitude of the male civilian element toward the women, and the rather challenging tactics of the latter in response. This blending of two sections of society no doubt commended itself to the Emperor, especially when, after his accession to the throne, he cast a look around him and found himself deserted by the *bonne compagnie*, and notably by the female part of it, that had graced the Salon of the Elysée during the presidency. With this end in view he would have willingly made many sacrifices to concentrate the old *noblesse*, and even gone a step further than his uncle under similar circumstances. Napoleon III. would have put the old *noblesse* into places short of the very highest, by which I mean that he would have entrusted the men with diplomatic missions, as he eventually did with few that came to him, although at that time he would not have conferred a ministry on a known partisan of Legitimacy. 'Those people understand nothing of politics, and I did not want them for that. I only required them for decorative purposes, for they are eminently fit to wear gold lace. I would have willingly gilded them on all their edges,' he said afterward.

"And some of them consented to be gilt in that fashion, but, unlike their predecessors under the First Empire, they consider that the obligation is entirely on the side of the dispenser of the favors, and the nephew has not the strength of character of the uncle to tell them to leave the Court, if not France, unless their presence confers credit and not discredit on the dynasty. In fact, I doubt whether any except the most drastic measures in that respect would be of the least avail now; the thing has gone on too long, and instead of a Versailles of Louis XIV., blended with some of the virtues of the military and civil *parvenus* of the Napoleonic era, we have a glittering but utterly dissolute and ethically worthless society, which is simply a startling reproduction of the Pompadour era, *plus* the swagger

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and barrack-language of the *beau sabreur* at his worst, when, in spite of that swagger and his late successes in the field I suspect him to be lacking in the sterling soldierly qualities and unquestionable warlike talents of his *dévanciers*. The Court, as I saw it at Compiègne a day or two ago, presents the most heterogeneous gathering of humanity it has ever been my lot to behold away from the gaming rooms at Baden-Baden, with which it has also one trait in common besides its outward elegance, namely, its absolute egoism, the unscrupulous hostility of each of its members towards his neighbor, like himself in pursuit of a favor, a possibly profitable transaction, or an intrigue. Like the gathering at Baden-Baden, it is, as I have said, composed of utterly dissimilar elements, of a semi-ruined old *noblesse* side by side with a prosperous Jewish financial fraternity; of a *bourgeoisie* with all the greed of the French *bourgeoisie* of olden as well as modern times thick upon it, and sorely perplexed at its inability to keep its hoard; of Harpagons emulating with wry faces the lavishness of the Gramont-Caderousses and the Demidoffs; of rapacious would-be Massenas and spendthrift would-be Lasalles, but without the military genius that distinguished the Duc de Rivoli and the hero of Prentzlau.

"Do what one will, it is impossible to close one's eyes to these facts forced upon one's notice the moment one sets foot within the court circle, and the mental cataract which evidently prevents the Emperor from seeing them will, I am afraid, have to be removed one day, remote or near, with danger to himself and to his dynasty. The gambling stories alone are sufficient to make one's hair stand on end, and the culprits, whether they figure as hawks or pigeons, invariably belong to the army. Those convicted of cheating, albeit not publicly—not merely suspected—are not only allowed to retain their commissions, but are received at court as if nothing had happened. The Comte ——— was caught red-handed at Chantilly a twelvemonth or so before the revolution that cost Louis Philippe his throne. He was compelled to lie low during the remainder of the Citizen Monarchy, and during the whole of the Second Republic, but at present he holds his head as high as ever. A lieutenant in the Guards, a victim that one, lost 20,000 francs at one sitting. He had not a red cent towards the money, but he did not worry himself in the least, and in the morning

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he simply applied to the Emperor. The move was a masterly one, apart from the young fellow's knowledge that the Emperor never refused an appeal for money as long as he had any to give. He wound up his request by saying that there were only three courses open to him, viz., the appeal he ventured on, dishonor, or suicide. Of course under the circumstances the Emperor could not very well refuse if he had felt inclined to do so, which, truth to tell, he did not. He could not very well have had it said of him that he had driven a promising young officer to suicide for the sake of a few thousand francs. I know well enough, though, what would have happened if a similar request had been preferred to Wilhelm of Prussia or Francis-Joseph of Austria who, I have not the least doubt, are as tenacious of the honor of their officers as is the Emperor of the French. The honor of the officer would have remained safe, but he would have had to pay for it with the loss of his commission.*

"The Emperor scarcely reprimanded the young fellow. Opening a packet of money, he handed him the money. 'The life of one of my soldiers is worth more than the sum of which you stand in need,' he said, with that peculiar smile which constitutes his greatest charm. 'But I am not at all rich and I

* The laws on gambling in the army were and are very strict both in Austria and Germany proper. I do not know enough of Austria to be able to say what would have happened there under similar circumstances, but I fancy the author of the note is correct in his surmise that King Wilhelm would not have been quite as lenient as was Napoleon III. At any rate I knew two Prussian officers who lost their commissions for having gambled away more than they could pay. In the one case the gambling debt was paid; the gambler was, however, cashiered. During my stay in Paris I used to meet him frequently; he had become a correspondent for several German papers. In the other case the debt was not paid; the dishonored gambler was obliged to leave the country. He took service in the French foreign legion. The last time I saw him, about three years ago, he was doing well as a military coach in London, for by that time he was close upon sixty. The late Emperor Wilhelm, though, did not always punish so severely, especially when the offender happened to be the gainer instead of the loser. For sometime after the revolution of 1849 the Duchy of Baden was occupied by the Prussian troops that had helped to quell the insurrection. The officers quartered at Rastadt had been especially cautioned againt playing at Baden-Baden. One summer evening King then Prince) Wilhelm strolled into the gaming rooms and noticed an officer in *mufti* at play. The officer was winning, not much, but a good deal for a Prussian lieutenant, for there were four *Friedrichs d'or* on the red. He had begun with one and the color had turned up twice. Just as he was about to pick up the money he caught sight of the Prince watching him. Terror-stricken, he stood as if rooted at the spot. The red turned up a third, then a fourth time, still the officer did not move. At last the maximum is reached, and the croupier asks —"*Combien a la masse?*" No answer. "*Combien a la masse?*" shouts the croupier once more. Thereupon the Prince walks round to the officer's side, taps him on the shoulder and says gently—"Take up your money and go lest one of your chiefs should catch you here." As a matter of course, the lieutenant did not want telling twice. A couple of days later there happened to be a review at Rastadt. Prince Wilhelm caught sight of the lieutenant and sent for him. "Lieutenant * * *," he said, "after you went away, the red turned out four times more. I prevented you from winning four times the maximum which you would have been sensible enough to stake. You can draw upon me for that amount. But take my advice; do not gamble again. M. Benazet is not the enemy to attack twice under similar conditions."

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might not be able at all times to redeem it at such a price. Go and sin no more.'

"Of Napoleon III.'s goodness of heart there cannot be the smallest doubt, but I am afraid it is being taken advantage of on all sides; and, what is worse, he knows it, and half of his sadness is due to his knowledge. The sentence, 'The life of one of my soldiers is worth more than the sum of which you stand in need,' is very pretty, but utterly untrue. I doubt whether Napoleon III. uttered it for effect. I do not think so. But take his army from whatever point of view you will—from the military, the moral, or the social—there are not many officers in it the redemption of whose life is worth 20,000 francs.

"This does not mean that there are no competent and honorable men in that army to the efficiency of which France will eventually have to trust for her political supremacy in Europe; but those men are systematically snubbed, discouraged, and thrust into the shade by the military Court party, which is distinctly a creation of the Empress, to whom the barrack-room manners of a Pélissier, for instance, are naturally distasteful. She seems to be entirely ignorant of the fact that between the fall of the First Empire and the rise of the Second there has sprung up a race of soldiers as far removed from the very wonderful but nevertheless very ignorant and rough-hewn generals of the great Napoleon as the latter were from the highly-educated and highly-polished but nevertheless the reverse of wonderful generals of the *ancien régime,* who, like the Duc de Saint-Simon, grumbled and threw up their commissions because at the age of twenty-seven they had got no farther than their colonelcy, which, like that of the immortal author of the *Memoirs,* their parents had bought for them when they were beardless lads. That military court *coterie* dare not ignore the claims of a Pélissier, but it pooh-poohs the claims of a Stoffel, a Trochu, and a score of others who are their superiors in every way, except in the art of bowing and scraping, leading the cotillion, and coining smart epigrams. These men, the Stoffels and Trochus, are of opinion that if promotion cannot always be gained on the battlefield face to face with the enemy, it should at any rate not be sought for in the drawing-room, but be won in the barracks schoolroom, the drill-ground, and the camp. They are gentlemen in the best acceptation of the term, some-

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what Puritanical as far as their profession is concerned, and consequently as averse to the introduction of the barrack-room into the boudoir—which is the Pélissier way—as they are to the introduction of the boudoir element and influence into the army—which is the way of the court *coterie*. The Stoffels and Trochus are the lives which are worth more than 20,000 francs apiece, or would be if their owners did not allow their tempers to be soured by the others, and did not keep sulking in their tents.

"But if the court *coterie* objects to barrack-yard manners *à la* Pélissier in the drawing-room, they do not appear to entertain a similar objection to introducing *boudoir* influence into the army. Of course the *coterie* would fain preserve a monopoly in that respect, but the courtesan claims in this, as in all other things, equality with the aristocratic *intrigante*. Here is a story to that effect which was running the round of Paris only the other day, and a story running the round of Paris soon spreads to the provinces and across the frontier provided it be scandalous enough.

"Anna Deslions, whose real name is Deschiens and who a few years ago was taken under the wing of the famous Esther Guimont, lost her father. I suppose he was neither worse nor better than a great many French fathers of the lower classes; he was perfectly aware of his daughter's doings, which knowledge did not prevent him from living very comfortably on the allowance she made him. Anna, it appears, was never tired of extolling his virtues, and insisted on his having a magnificent funeral, for the funds of which she applied to her 'protector-in-chief' who happens to be a general of brigade and a curmudgeon of the first water. He simply applied to the Military Governor of Paris for a battalion and the band of the regiment quartered in the Faubourg Poissonnière *for the obsequies of a veteran of the First Empire*, which request was granted most graciously. The funeral service was held at St. Laurent, and the female friends of the bereaved daughter mustered in great force. The papers gave a minute account of the affair, but somehow the story of the deception leaked out. The general was reprimanded, but the Emperor, always anxious to avoid scandals, ordered the thing to be hushed up. He, however, stopped the general from inviting private tenders for the celebration of the yearly mass for the repose of old Deschien's soul, which that delectable warrior wanted to do in imitation of his fellow-soldier, General Fabvier, who died in '55."

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Thus far the note, the absolute accuracy of which I could prove by others in my possession and from entirely different sources. A careful study of these leads me to one conclusion, which I will endeavor to state as briefly as possible. Of all those who "had the ear" of Napoleon III., there were not more than four—certainly not more than a half-dozen counsellors—who were loyally devoted to him and to his dynasty. The others merely looked upon the dynasty as a stepping-stone to the acquisition of enormous wealth, as an instrument for the gratification of their vanity, and the realization of ambitious schemes more guilty still. If the latter were unfolded here in their naked truth, the revelation would raise a storm of invective such as a man endowed with far greater courage than mine might well wish to avoid. This much I will say, come what may: with the exception of Persigny, Fleury, Rouher, Mocquard, Princesse Mathilde, Princesse Anna Murat (Duchesse de Mouchy), and, to a certain extent, Walewski, every man and woman at the Tuileries worked for his or her own hand, and by their matchless selfishness, utter absence of scruple, and overweening conceit, incurred the withering contempt and scathing, but nevertheless deserved, criticism of a section of society, the existence of which is tacitly ignored in every well-ordered community, in spite of its presence being as plain as the sun on a bright summer's day.

The male counterpart of that section, consisting of *chevaliers d'industrie,* company promoters of a kind, shady financiers, and the like, were more practical. They neither indulged in profitless sneers and recriminations against the *manieurs d' argent* at court, nor instituted comparisons between the latter and themselves. They knew that such comparisons would have been simply ridiculous. From the time that Mouvillon de Glimes had started his "limited company" entitled Société Anonyme de Produits Chemiques, and without as much as showing a printed share or prospectus, had swooped in a million and a half of francs, with which he decamped across the Pyrenées, from that time the swindlers not affiliated to the court knew the futility of competing with those who were. The former might be just as clever as the others—in many instances they were as clever and cleverer—but the law, when it overtook them, had to show itself doubly severe to dispel the suspicion attached to it of having been utterly apathetic on former occasions. No one was ever deceived

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by this except Napoleon III. himself, who fondly imagined that the nation could be hoodwinked by the system of making the less guilty pay for the more guilty, for it finally became a system. And thus it came to pass that the sovereign, who during the whole of his reign had been constantly engaged in shielding the most unscrupulous, and at the same time most cowardly, freebooter of his time, lent himself to the persecution—for prosecution is too mild a term—of a comparatively innocent man. I am alluding to Mirès, who was to Morny as John Law to the fraudulent son of a banker. The latter goes on using his father's name and influence to make dupes, knowing full well that when the crash comes the father will step in and hush the matter up at the risk of being reduced to beggary himself.

That the Emperor had to do this frequently the papers found at the Tuileries after the fall of the Empire leave not the smallest doubt; that he finally got tired of this incessant and enormous strain on his purse there is equally no doubt. One instance among many will suffice. One morning there came—by appointment, of course—to the Emperor's private room an individual, a mere glance at whom revealed the prosperous, irrepressible loud-voiced and loud-mannered *brasseur d'affaires.** His fingers and shirt front blazing with diamonds, formidable gold chain across his chest, the ample cut of his brand new clothes, everything, in short, proclaimed the prosperity to be of recent standing. He came to submit to His Majesty the project of some new works to be constructed in the heart of the capital. The Emperor, though rarely surprised at anything, was surprised this time, and could not help showing his surprise. The scheme, though a vast one, had nothing to recommend itself or to distinguish it from a hundred others; it was on the face of it a gigantic building speculation, and nothing more. The Emperor as good as said so, and added that in any case it was a matter for his Minister of Public Works and not for himself to decide, at which remark the applicant opened his eyes very wide. "That would be true, sire, under ordinary circumstances," he began somewhat timidly; "but in this instance your Majesty has been informed of the whole affair beforehand." This time it is the Emperor who opens his eyes very wide. "I have been informed of nothing, mon-

* Literally "brewer of business": the French equivalent for the still more modern and more euphemistic English term "promoter."

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sieur," he says. "I beg your Majesty's pardon," stammered the applicant, "but——" "I beg your pardon, monsieur," replied the Emperor, "but——" "M. de —— has told your Majesty nothing?" "M. de —— has told me nothing."

Thereupon the applicant, unable to contain himself any longer, burst out, "The cheat, the cheat! And I who gave him a hundred thousand francs but two days ago, because he told me that your Majesty had promised him to support my project! The Emperor calmly dismissed his visitor, but a few hours later he enacted a stormy scene with the official in question as a spectator. The latter remained perfectly unmoved and simply smiled. "For two twos he would have applauded as one applauds a mummer at whom one laughs inwardly for overdoing the thing," said the Emperor bitterly, when he told the affair to Fleury. "Instead of which, when I left off abusing him for sheer want of breath, he quietly remarked: 'Your Majesty is really too kind to worry yourself about such an idiot as that.'"

This is the synopsis of one of the innumerable one-act pieces that preceded the big tragedy entitled "The Campaign in Mexico," the inception of which must have been due to some such scene as the one I described just now. Jecker, the Swiss money-monger, who had lent Miramon 7,425,000 francs—or at any rate nearly half that sum in bare money—was a somewhat more important personage than the Frenchman whom the Emperor had been obliged to dismiss so unceremoniously; especially after he, Jecker, had done France the honor to become naturalized, and had begun to press his claim of 75,000,000 francs against Mexico. Morny himself, though daring enough, would not have dared to wash his hands of him, and instead of the play ending with the exit of Jecker from the private room of Napoleon III., the play had only reached the end of its prologue. I do not state this to be an absolute fact; I merely surmise, for everything connected with the initial business of the War in Mexico is so enwrapped in mystery that one must not speak with certainty. An attempt to let in light on that subject as well as on the subsequent events consequently becomes impossible at the end of a chapter, but I will endeavor to do so in the next.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

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THE SITUATION IN CUBA.

BY SENOR DON SEGUNDO ALVAREZ, EX-MAYOR OF HAVANA.

REGARDING the situation of affairs in Cuba, upon which I have been invited to write for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the most recent information in my possession shows that the insurrectionary movement makes no progress and that as soon as the rainy season is over the government will increase its efforts to bring it to a speedy termination. The country at large is fully resolved to withhold support from a movement which must lead to ruin. Whatever strength the insurrection has shown has been derived more than anything else from external aid, assisted by the involved financial situation of the country at present. But for these causes the movement would have ended almost as soon as it began.

Many make a mistake in believing that this insurrection is similar in character to the last outbreak in Cuba. According to the judgment of intelligent men there were causes which justified the previous conflict, and many of the principal citizens took an active part in it, believing themselves so powerful that they refused the concessions offered to them by the then provisional government of Spain. That war was more humane. Entire towns took the field with the insurrectionists, but to no avail. The disappointment experienced by its principal leaders proved to them the uselessness of such an undertaking, unless, indeed, they wished to convert the island into a scene of discord and racial war. From the result of that struggle thinking men and lovers of the country learned that the only hope for the well-being of Cuba was to remain under the Spanish flag, and so to obtain all the liberties enjoyed by countries organized under modern laws. Their efforts were being surely, although slowly, crowned with success, for under the sway of political order they were acquiring all the

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rights which belonged to them, and further attempts were being made, with all prospect of favorable result, for the establishment of administrative and economical reforms, the people of the island having direct control of these affairs. For these reasons men who reflect, and men who have families and material interests to think of, excepting, perhaps, some visionary schemers, do not approve of the present uprising, which is more anarchic than political in its character, as shown both by the means which it employs and by the greater number of the leaders who have thrown themselves into it, who have come from different quarters, and who, as a rule, have absolutely nothing to lose.

At the conclusion of the previous rebellion, two political groups were created, one styling itself *Union Constitucional o Conservadora*, which comprises the greater portion of those who had come from Spain. This party had for its chief aim the defence of the flag without regard to class distinctions, but it sought in a cautious and moderate way to effect improvements in the political situation. The other party, *Autonomista*, very largely composed of native Cubans and directed by the most illustrious of them, presented an autonomic plan similar to that in operation in Canada. This party was working with much constancy and great faith to bring about reform and by means of peaceful procedure to arrive at the goal of their aspirations. Having modified in the mean time, some institutions which experience had shown to require alteration, the conservative party did not develop according to the growing necessities of the times, the majority of the party being unwilling to accept the proposals of its more advanced wing. With the object of harmonizing conflicting interests and bringing together the antagonistic elements of the country, an economic league was formed, and men of both parties assembled to discuss in a fraternal spirit such economical questions as were of supreme interest to the island. This movement was suspended; but, as soon as Minister Maura presented his plan of reforms, it gave origin to a third party of an intermediary character, which is called *Reformista*. This party, embracing within it both Spaniards and Cubans, has been the bulwark by which the cause of true reform has been saved from ship-wreck. Such is the actual situation of the different parties.

The idea of independence, which, without a doubt, has been very grateful to the majority of the native-born, experience in the

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previous outbreak proved to be futile. Little encouragement can be derived by those who cherish this hope from the examples of the republics of South and Central America, which have already become emancipated. None of them has been able, owing to the diverse elements of their populations, to organize a nation under the form they originally pictured to themselves.

Annexation to the United States, about which many dream—more so out of the country than within it—is an absolute impossibility. The greater majority of the Cubans do not wish it, because they realize that, should it be put into effect, their individuality would disappear in a short time. The most thoughtful men of the island, to whom I have already referred, see no other solution than to continue belonging to Spain, to live tranquilly under the national flag, and to endeavor to bring about all the reforms which may be necessary for the well-being of the country.

The United States have, in my opinion, great interest in whatever situation the affairs of Cuba may find themselves in. It is to their interest that the island should be prosperous, because in that way the commercial relations between them will become wider and more fruitful. The number of American importations will increase more than those of any other country, owing to the proximity of the United States and Cuba to each other, and the cordial relations which have existed between them so long. This admits of no doubt, for if the mercantile balance is compared to that of all the countries with which the United States have relations, none, considering the number of inhabitants, is of such importance as the commerce with the island of Cuba, and the greater the prosperity of that island the greater the produce it will be able to purchase. Were Cuba independent its relations with the United States would be practically the same as those of Santo Domingo and similar countries, so that the American nation, being a calculating one, cannot help seeing, apart from the treaties which it has already made with the Spanish nation for the maintenance of peace, that the insurrection will be injurious to them. I am aware that some States—like Florida, for example, which has grown through Cuban immigration and developed flourishing towns with regular industries—view these questions in a different light. Persons from the State just named, inspired by the desire for gain, are apt to commit infractions of international law, which may lead, to-morrow or the day after,

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to disagreeable complications between the United States and Spain, but the interest of the United States is not in having war within, much less outside. What is to their benefit is the constant and admirable development of their vast resources, which they are achieving to the admiration of the entire world.

I have been recently misrepresented as saying that the American flag covered all crimes. But the remarks made above show how impossible it would be for me to make such a statement. What I have said is that certain things have been done to cover criminal acts against Cuba by the *Separatistas* or their sympathizers, and by speculators who generally cover themselves with their American naturalization papers. And this is true.

SEGUNDO ALVAREZ.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR IRELAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CREWE (LORD HOUGHTON), LATE LORD LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

THE political revolution of July, and the utter rout, for the time being, of the Liberal party, have engaged public attention, to the exclusion of other topics during the last six weeks. The ingenuity of publicists and partisans exhausts itself in an endeavor to apportion aright blame for the Liberal defeat, and to forecast its results for the next few years to come. The purpose of the present article is simply to discuss its effect upon Irish parties, and upon the government of Ireland, in the light of some recent experience gained in the country itself.

In the first place it must be noted that amid the crash of parties, Ireland stands where she did; the changes in her representation are microscopic, and the constitutional demand for Home Rule is presented by a slightly reinforced host of Nationalist members. The very obviousness of this fact, and the certainty with which it was foreseen, may cause its significance to be forgotten; but let it be remarked, once for all, that of the different proposals, applying to distinct portions of the British Islands, which formed and still form part of the Liberal programme, Home Rule is preëminently the one the position of which the general election of 1895, has done least to affect, as regards the district specially concerned. Fence with the matter as you will, the return of 83 Irish Home Rulers against 20 adherents of legislative union, forbids the most light-hearted Conservative to boast that there is no Irish constitutional question left unsolved.

It is, however, the commonplace of the moment—the easy resort of official optimism—to assert that the eyes of Irishmen are fixed on the passing of a Land Bill, and not on political de-

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velopments towards self-government. There is enough truth in the statement to make it worth while to expose its essential one-sidedness. In the first place it leaves out of account the townsfolk, whose interest in a Land Bill is extremely remote, but who yet maintain the Nationalist faith unimpaired, and often in the more extreme forms. Again, it lays undue stress upon the force, great though it be, with which appeal can to-day be made to the pocket of a class. It is, indeed, assumed by many politicians of the baser sort, and half credited by some who ought to know better, that not only in Ireland, but in England, Scotland, and Wales as well, the jingling of the guinea is the only music for your voters' ear. Lowered rates, grants in aid, old age pensions—these are the only wares for the shop window, according as landowner, or farmer, or artisan is to be tempted in to buy. "Freedom leaning on her spear" must have a cheque book in her pocket or she will attract little notice. Perhaps there are a few people left who will decline to believe that enthusiasm for a political idea is now an impossibility, or that the spirit is dead which destroyed slavery (though nobody was a penny the richer), and which set the whole country ablaze when the story of Bulgaria's wrongs was told.

There are, no doubt, in Ireland as elsewhere, some minds who recognize no higher appeal than the gain of the instant. There were a few Venetians, perhaps, and a few Hungarians, who would cheerfully have accepted Austrian domination in consideration for a rise of wages. To compare any English government of to-day with the Imperial government of '48 would of course be unfair; but on the other hand, the administration of Hungary to-day, far more popular and sympathetic than that of Ireland, has not abated a jot of Magyar pretension to self-government.

It is, in fact, on the divisions in the Irish Nationalist Party, and upon them alone, that Unionists, who know Ireland, rely for the weakening of the popular demand. Some examination of these disputes, their causes, and their effect on public opinion in England and Ireland may not be altogether out of place. It is possible to extract three main elements of difference from the mass of mutual recrimination which crowds the Irish press: (1) resentment of the treatment of Mr. Parnell in 1886; (2) personal disputes, sometimes founded on incompatibility of political temper, sometimes, but seldom, on actual divergence of opinion and ac-

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tion on current questions; and (3) the clash of clerical and anti-clerical sentiment.

The essence of the whole matter is to determine whether any or all of these grounds of quarrel are in their nature permanent, for it may be taken as absolutely certain that, so long as they exist, the passing of a Home Rule measure will be impossible.

(1). It seems scarcely conceivable that the fight should forever sway round the memory of the dead Irish leader. An unprejudiced looker-on may be allowed to admit that Mr. Parnell received in some respects hard measure from his colleagues and followers, not so much in the fact of his dismissal as in the manner of it. Such an observer may also be permitted an expression of sincere regret over the disappearance from public life of a supremely interesting and in many ways admirable figure. The might-have-beens of politics are sometimes curiously fascinating and it is difficult to decide what would have happened could the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland have tacitly admitted the somewhat dangerous doctrine that high public services may act as a set-off against private irregularities. How far a direct national defiance of Mr. Gladstone and of English public opinion might have aided or retarded the passage of Home Rule, is a matter on which everybody must form an independent judgment for himself.

It is perhaps easier to maintain that had Mr. Parnell bowed to the gale, and at once retired from the leadership, even the straitest critics would sooner or later have consented to regard his offence in the light of an "erratum," as Franklin professionally entitled a moral lapse of his own early days.

Ireland has been the victim of many cruel ironies, but it would surely be the cruellest of all, if the personality of Mr. Parnell were to offer a permanent obstacle to the success of the cause which he championed.

(2). It is not the purpose of this article to indulge in comments on the conduct or the language of individual public men in Ireland. Such criticisms would fall with an ill grace from one who has held the position of the writer. It is well, therefore, lightly to pass over the personal element which unluckily plays so prominent a part in the present controversy. No feature in the situation is more disheartening to an English friend of Ireland, but it is easy to overrate its significance. Mr. John

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Morley has lately reminded us, with much force, that nothing is more likely to lead to the overstatement of a case or to intemperance in argument than lack of early training in the exercise of public functions, and he added that if many Irishmen are still thus unpractised it is England that should take the principal blame. This truth may well be borne in mind by those who sometimes miss from Irish polemics what Gibbon calls "the well-guarded declaration of discreet and dignified resentment."

Passing to strictly political subjects of dispute, by far the most important has been the difference of opinion between the followers of Mr. Redmond and those of Mr. McCarthy as to the proper attitude of Ireland towards the Liberal party. Within the ranks of the Federationists themselves opinions upon this point have not always been unanimous.

As time went on it became evident that the perfect independence of English parties originally maintained by Mr. Parnell, which Mr. Redmond favored during the sitting of the late Parliament, would be rendered difficult by the continued adhesion of the Liberals to the principle of Home Rule. Government by casually associated groups is alien to English parliamentary tradition. Mr. Parnell had not much experience of this particular difficulty, but even he more than once found it necessary to quit his attitude of frigid isolation. It was not, however, until the rejection of the Irish government bill by the House of Lords in 1893 that the severe test began. The question was then asked: Ought the Irish to support the government in carrying their British measures, or ought they, while admitting the loyalty of Mr. Gladstone to his declared policy, to exhibit once more their independence and their power by withdrawing aid from an administration unable to carry out its good intentions towards Ireland? The present writer, while gratefully recognizing the value of the support so honorably extended to the late government by the Irish party, frankly admits that from a Nationalist point of view there was at first sight much to be said for the alternative policy.

It may further be conceded that the result of the general election seems to uphold the soundness of this view. An earlier appeal to the country could scarcely have ended more disastrously for the cause of Home Rule.

But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the dis-

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missal of a Liberal government by the act of the Irish members would probably have thrown a breaking strain upon the Liberal party. Even though the Liberal leaders recognized that Mr. McCarthy and his followers were acting within their strict rights, and had again set Home Rule in the forefront of their proposals, the rank and file of the party might have so resented enforced reconsideration of the question, and the apparent abandonment of English measures, as altogether to endanger the existing alliance. True, the real blame ought to have been cast on the House of Lords, but it would have been the Irish hand which dealt the visible blow. It is, of course, open for Mr. Redmond to retort, as he probably would, that he for one does not want the Liberal alliance; but in that case one is entitled to ask in reply whether Mr. Redmond wants Home Rule, and how he proposes constitutionally to obtain it without the co-operation of one of the great English parties? As the matter now stands, the Liberal party, defeated and diminished as it is, is essentially a Home Rule party; and when its turn again comes to succeed to power, it must again face the question of Irish self-government.

There remains, it is true, still one alternative for Mr. Redmond in the hope of enlisting the sympathy of the Conservative party with his views and aims. We shall consider presently the possible outcome of the great Unionist triumph as affecting Ireland, but meanwhile it is not without amusement that onlookers have followed the phases of the flirtation between the Parnellite and Unionist parties.

It remains to consider how far the reunion of the Irish party is likely to be deferred by reason of actual and legitimate difference of opinion on policy and procedure. If anything will close the existing breaches, it will be the coming period of struggle with the serried forces of reaction. The main subject in dispute, which has been discussed above, disappears with the Liberal government. Between the Liberal opposition and the Irish party, relations of friendly concord will probably exist, but of a less intimate character than were suggested to both sides by the smallness of the government's majority in the late Parliament. On the whole, it seems likely that causes of offence between members of the Nationalist brigade will tend to become fewer, save under one head, with which we must next deal.

Mr. Lecky reminds us (vol. viii., p. 429) that "in the

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strange irony of Irish history few things are more curious than the fact that it was the English government which persuaded the Catholic priests to take an active part in Irish politics, and to take part in them for the purpose of carrying the legislative union." It is something of an irony, too, which has "united English Liberalism with the Roman Catholic Church for the purpose of modifying that union"; but in the matter of mutual loyalty neither party has had cause to complain of the other. Still, that the Conservative party should never have succeeded in winning over to its side this isolated branch of the greatest conservative organization in Europe is a singular and instructive fact. So long as old Tory traditions held the field it might have been difficult to form an alliance, but the capture of the Roman Catholic Church would not have been unworthy of Mr. Disraeli's adroitness and enterprise. In some respects the task would have been easier in his day than now, before the north, then so Radical, was pledged to support the Unionist party; but signs are not now wanting, as we shall presently remark, that the Conservative chiefs of to-day may make some attempt of the kind. In that case the steadfast adherence of the hierarchy and priesthood to the popular party may be more severely tested than ever yet in the past; but the Church as a whole is little likely to forget its national character.

At this moment feeling is naturally running high between the League and Federation, on the ground of priestly interference with the recent elections. That such interference has been considerable, and in some cases excessive, at any rate to English Liberal eyes, may be at once granted. But it is important to remember the peculiar relation—half paternal, half fraternal—in which the country priest stands to his peasant parishioner. It would be strange if an intimacy so confidential, involving knowledge of the most private affairs, did not color the public dealings of a person subject to the influence of another.

During the late elections much ill-feeling has been awakened on this account, and it seems probable that as time goes on, the Parnellite section of the Nationalists will more and more be stamped with the character of an anti-clerical party. The existence of such a wing may be a misfortune, so far as it tends to present disunion; but in an Irish parliament where, as we are always being reminded, Rome Rule is dreaded under the name of

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Home Rule, it would play an important part by representing the element of Continental Liberalism in social and domestic politics.

The conclusion appears then to be this: That so far as the internal differences of the Nationalist Party depend on devotion to the memory of Mr. Parnell, or on the attitude of Ireland toward English parties, they will tend to diminish. Whereas, as between clerical and anti-clerical opinion the line of demarcation is likely to become sharper.

As between Nationalist and Unionist, no very marked change seems likely to take place at present; there will be plenty of wild talk on both sides, but there is far less personal difference than is sometimes imagined. Of course, feeling runs high in Belfast, and higher still in some of the northern towns in which the number of Catholics and Protestants is almost equal. Here and there one hears of an event which comes as an agreeable surprise, as when in a North-Midland county, one recent 12th of July, the local Nationalists lent to a gathering of two thousand Orangemen their big drum, the prime requisite on such an occasion, and sent cars for conveyance of those attending the meeting. But such Arcadian amity is rare, though outside Ulster, in the districts where Protestants are in a small minority, good humored relations are the rule, except where well-meaning but ill-balanced persons have embarked on the futile campaign of religious proselytism. If, then—as surely is the case—the failure of the Liberal Party to carry Home Rule has in no way reconciled the Irish majority to the existing methods of government, and if the fissures in that majority are, on the whole, more likely to close than to widen as time goes on, what prospect has the new ministry of a continued period of order and of comparative contentment?

The answer is humiliating enough, seeing that the great British Empire has to make it. In the immediate future the apathy of Ireland, and therefore to some extent a quietude of the House of Commons, will mainly depend on two conditions, one positive and one negative, over neither of which the government will have a shadow of control. There must be fine weather, and no popular leader must arise to unite the Nationalist forces.

During the past three years of liberal administration, the remarkable peace of the country was in part due, it may be hoped, to a sympathetic method of government which made no terms

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with crime but which tried to enlist the best popular forces on the side of order. Nevertheless it would be absurd to deny that the task was made infinitely easier than it might have been by the material prosperity which prevailed till the spring of this year, and was then disturbed in isolated localities only.

Again, Unionist England, as she values her repose, must remain fettered by the undignified necessity of beseeching Providence not to raise up a new O'Connell or Parnell. At this moment the various sections of the Nationalist party include men of high character, men of brilliant eloquence, men of striking business capacity; it is an instance of the ill-luck which haunts Ireland that no one of them combines all the qualities needed for an Irish leader. England, in her secure and settled condition, does not ask for leaders. She requires public servants. These she uses to the utmost of their strength, gives them honor while they are alive, with money if they desire it, and buries them in Westminster Abbey when they are dead. But she reserves the right to criticise with utter frankness her most eminent sons, and if they displease her she is not above breaking their drawing-room windows. Ireland, on the other hand, as a nation who has suffered much, calls for a leader—the Liberator, the Chief. He must be a man to appeal to the imagination, either by the burning eloquence and masculine bonhomie of an O'Connell, or with the magnetic influence and mysterious aloofness of a Parnell. Such a leader—who knows?—is perhaps approaching manhood to-day and is dreaming dreams of an Ireland made prosperous and contented by his guidance, or, perhaps, unconscious of his destiny, he is now being wheeled in a perambulator along the pavements of Dublin or of Cork. At any rate, appear he will—by the ordinary law of averages, which allots a hero to every nation now and again—and, when he comes, the problem of how to govern Ireland, unless solved already, will once more thrust itself before the eyes of the weary predominant partner.

It remains to consider the possible attitude of each section of the Irish party towards the new government, and the policy which that government may thus be tempted or compelled to pursue.

It would be a fruitless task to prophesy concerning the Nationalist attitude in the House of Commons, towards an administration which up to the time of writing has made no coherent declaration of policy in Irish affairs.

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Let us pass on to conjecture what direction Unionist tactics may probably take. It has long been believed in Ireland that if opportunity should offer, the Conservatives would attempt an experiment of their own and reorganize the details of Castle government, while maintaining the body of the present system. It was also imagined that if a Unionist government should assume office, Mr. Chamberlain would not consider the task beneath his great abilities, and that he would make his first appearance in the unaccustomed character of conciliator. The experiment is not likely to be made. The phrase "Clear out the Castle" has merits as an alliterative cry, but the task is one from which statesmen of wider experience than the present rulers of Ireland might well shrink. For that task is the substitution, for a non-popular but distinctly effective system, of some unknown scheme which by the hypothesis must be non-popular also, and for the smooth working of which there is no guarantee. Popular it cannot be, because the leaders of the popular party will have none of it. As it is, central control is the mainspring of Irish government. At one time it may be the Lord Lieutenant, at another the Chief Secretary or the Under Secretary, who undertakes the real work; but it always happens that one performer, or two, or three, play on the instrument while the rest of the official world blows the bellows. The system, like most centralized systems, possesses a certain attractiveness. That it works as well as it does is due in part to the fact that Dukes of Alva and Generals Hagnan are not found among English politicians of any shade of opinion; in part to the publicity, even though it be inaccurate, which attends the doings, great and small, of those in power, and in part to the real merits of the permanent officials in Ireland. It would be impossible for the writer not to bear testimony to the high services and admirable common sense of many of these gentlemen, upon whom the sins and shortcomings of their political chiefs have sometimes been unfairly visited. The real vices of the system are its rigidity, its failure to encourage self-reliance in subordinates, and its undue demand upon those who are called upon to control it. It is an undue demand because it predicates a perpetual succession of public men, endowed in the very finest degree with the qualities of impartiality, patience, and industry. More especially are remarkable governing qualities necessary for

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the members of a Conservative administration of to-day, because the country has admittedly to be governed without the concurrence and in opposition to the wishes of its constitutional representatives. On the actions of such a government there is, in fact, no real parliamentary or other check.

It is not only in the domain of law and order, but in almost every department of an Irish citizen's life, that the central government has its eye on him. The government of Ireland is a government by boards, and the system, by diminishing personal responsibility, tends to throw control even more than might be into the hands of the political chiefs and their immediate entourage. The Local Government Board has three members, besides those who sit on it *ex-officio*. The Prisons Board has three, and among boards of a different class eight to nine members sit on the Congested Districts Board, and seventeen on the Board of National Education. The Board of Works, representing the Treasury in Ireland—as well as the Woods and Forests and the Board of Works proper—maintains towards the Irish government something of the attitude which an Indian resident might assume towards a powerful and well meaning, but occasionally indiscreet Maharajah; although friction has usually been avoided by the excellent personal terms which have existed between its head and the ministers of the day.

Such is the machine—not the machine which some of us might prefer, though by no means a bad machine in its way. Whether it would stand much tinkering is another question.

We have concluded, then, that it is doubtful if any advantageous attempt can be made to reorganize Irish government on the present lines. Possibly the present Ministers, declared opponents of political change though they be, may attempt to provide the country with a scheme of local government. Such a scheme, counting so many points to the good in the struggle for Home Rule, if freed from the grotesque features which distinguished its predecessor, ought to receive, and probably would receive, serious consideration from the Irish members. To begin at the wrong end is sometimes better than not beginning at all. But the problem of how to give any local control at all, without alarming the favored landowning class, to whose support the government is attracted, if not actually pledged, is a desperately difficult one to solve.

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There are two other questions, each near boiling point, which await the declarations of the Tory government—the questions of Denominational Education and of the Land, to each of which the late Ministers directed anxious attention. This is not the place in which to discuss the technical and exceedingly complicated points which have arisen since, in 1892, the Chief Secretary was called upon to consider the question of certain elementary Roman Catholic schools. After an infinity of discussion between the Castle and the National Board of Education, those questions, relating mainly to the use of religious emblems, and of school books in which controversial matters are touched from the clerical standpoint, still remain undecided. Possibly a Conservative government, unfettered by a general belief in the impropriety of supporting centres of denominational education from public funds, may be able to terminate the tangle by cutting the knot. It may thus, as was stated above, win the gratitude, if not the support of the Roman communion, without alienating the Protestant Church of Ireland, whose peculiar interests may be specially safeguarded. In so doing it is certain to arouse the animosities, and alarm the prejudices, of the Nonconformist bodies of the North; but secure in its great majority, it can perhaps afford to do so.

These bodies, too, as forming a large part of the Ulster tenant class, are above all other men concerned with the settlement of questions left open, or as they believe unfairly decided, by the Land Act of 1881, and by the subsequent construction of its provisions by the courts of law. It is assumed, and may be announced before these lines are in print, that action will be deferred until next year, by means of a short bill postponing the date at which applications for fixing a new rent may be lodged. Such procedure will afford longer time for speculation upon the character of a measure for which Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Macartney, both members of the new government, and hitherto hopelessly apart on land questions, will each be more or less responsible.

There may be some Irish landlords who look with little enthusiasm upon this transfer from Liberal to Conservative hands of the matter which chiefly concerns them. They may remark that possible concessions to the Roman Catholic Church on education may render it advisable to conciliate Northern Protestant opinion by free amendment of the land acts; they may remember the un-

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palatable measures of 1887 and 1891, the work of Lord Salisbury's former administration; and they may be fully assured that, protest as they will, English Conservative noble lords, so prompt to rush to their aid when a Liberal government is in office, will look on with apathy or a shrug while they are immolated upon the altar of party necessity, and a similar or perhaps stronger measure is genially introduced by Lord Ashbourne from the bench on the right of the throne.

Time alone can show how far the pressure of circumstances may force the hand of the government. Their principal aim, as we are told, is to preserve a dead calm over Ireland, and to give no single interest a handle for agitation. It stands to reason that the most "loyal," and therefore least assertive, classes are most likely to be driven to the wall, as being least able to resent or retaliate for severe treatment.

For the rest, a policy of conciliation may be based on a profuse expenditure from public funds. So long as the British taxpayer is willing to provide it, no friend of Ireland can object to the distribution of drafts on the Exchequer, if only they can be allotted without waste and without blighting the growth of the delicate plant self-help. In the past some public money has been wisely and profitably laid out, and a considerable amount has been entirely wasted. There are districts in Ireland in which the failure of a single crop means short commons to all and starvation to some. Here the ordinary operation of the poor law must be supplemented by grants from the general fund. On the other hand, the names of two places rise to the mind of the writer. Both have been largely assisted from public and private sources, and in each the result has been a marked lowering of the character of the inhabitants and a relaxation of their efforts to earn an independent living. It may be a strong temptation to earn some easy cheers from a smiling western crowd, and to see one's self belauded in the newspapers by some worthy priest for whom one has transformed the world by providing access to his parish. But these joys may be too dearly bought at the cost of weakening that spirit of self-reliance which it should be the object of all governments to develop.

Nobody can pass some years in Ireland, especially in an official capacity, without becoming alive to the folly of dogmatizing upon the future course of events in the country. Much uncer-

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tainty must necessarily surround the immediate outcome of Irish politics. Neither English party is in a position to say that it can govern the country according to its desire. The Conservatives may at any moment be obliged to return to the exasperating methods of coercion, and to the weary see-saw of repression and reprisals. The Liberals, meanwhile, now frankly admit that Ireland cannot be permanently ruled by Englishmen of any party according to Irish ideas. Irish Nationalist ideas are by no means the same as English Liberal ideas, although a Liberal government, we hope, carries out its administrative duties in a more sympathetic and less alien spirit than do its opponents.

The Irish on their part will have need for the exercise of much patience and self-control. It is not easy to see what advantage is anticipated from a rather childish demonstration such as the return of the convict Daly for Limerick city. It is only right to mention that the cause of the dynamite prisoners generally, and of Daly in particular, is supported by many Irishmen and Irishwomen, who hold in abhorrence the dynamite creed, but believe the convict to be innocent; others again, while admitting at any rate the partial guilt of the prisoners, maintain they have been sufficiently punished by a considerable term of penal servitude. This is a point that may fairly be argued, but the election, said to be the reward of services to the Irish cause, seems to impale upon a dilemma those responsible for it. What were those services? Surely not the employment of dynamite? If, on the other hand, Daly be innocent, he is an exceedingly ill-used man, and should receive every possible apology and compensation that the law can offer. But it is not clear how even this supposition, in the absence of substantial and known political claims, is to qualify him for the representation of an important constituency.

We believe that the great Unionist triumph neither involves any abatement of Ireland's claims, nor an abandonment of her constitutional position. "Unfinished questions," it has been said, "have no pity for the repose of nations." Not very long ago it seemed likely that the Home Rule ship might make the harbor for which she was steering, but she was swept by the gale far out into the open sea. To retrace her course she must beat painfully against the wind; but she will reach home at last.

CREWE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"ST. ANTHONY'S BREAD."

LESS than three years ago there was founded, in the back room of a small store on a side street in Toulon, a charitable project which bids fair to do more towards bringing about the solution of the social problem in France than all the congresses and conferences that have been held, and all the books and articles that have been written with that end in view. It is rapidly assuming the proportions of an international economic movement of the first magnitude.

This charity, which has become an object at once of the astonishment and admiration of all Europe, is named "St. Anthony's Bread," after St. Anthony of Padua, and it is by the voluntary contributions of his clients that it is maintained.

"St. Anthony's Bread" comprises not only food, but also clothing and medical attendance—everything, in fact, necessary for the relief of the poor in general, and of the sick and afflicted poor in particular; for its directors wisely hold that with this class one should always "make the good God visible." They ascertain the names of the laborers in the various parishes who are out of employment and help them to procure work, quite irrespective of their religious belief, or want of religious belief. Orphans are sent to school, the aged, the blind, the deaf and dumb are all placed in special establishments; letters are written for those who are themselves unable to write, and advice procured from either doctor or lawyer when needed. While the deserving poor are thus sought out and all their wants supplied, professional beggars are tracked and exposed.

The promoters of this charity, however, do not labor merely to solve the Social Problem, important though that work undoubtedly is. The corporeal necessities of the poor are relieved through the medium of "St. Anthony's Bread" only on the understanding that their spiritual duties are not neglected. The conditions imposed upon the workmen in this regard are of the lightest possible character. For example, one of the publications issued under the auspices of "St. Anthony's Bread" consists wholly of light literature, except for one brief paragraph of religious matter at the end of the last page. "We must give them the *feuilleton* or they would not read the instruction," it is explained. In friendly conferences, held at stated intervals, the same *clientèle* is taught the lesson of mutual help and sympathy.

The writer recently had an opportunity of witnessing the practical working of this charitable project in the "toughest" quarters of Paris, and has also discussed its various phases with Frenchmen of every shade of belief, all

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of whom with one accord acclaim its promoters as the nation's benefactors. Indeed, it will be surprising if "St. Anthony's Bread" does not result in the complete regeneration of the French working classes—and if of these, why not of the working classes of all Europe and beyond? For the scope of "St. Anthony's Bread" is no longer confined to France. As, at the start, it spread from town to town throughout France, so is it now spreading from country to country throughout the world. It is interesting to learn that this great work is to be introduced into the United States during the coming winter. The result will be watched with interest.

As is well known, the literature of the social question is immense, and is growing rapidly every day. Herr Stamhammer, in his *Bibliographie des Socialismus*, enumerates some five thousand works more or less immediately dealing with it, and the catalogue is by no means complete. Words! There were storms of words on this same subject long before the French Revolution. Theories are very well; we may combat Mr. George and quote passages from Albertus Magnus down to Leo Taxil, but in this century, mere theorizing never brought about any reform. Action is the true policy, and no steps that could be taken in this direction are more thoroughly practical than those adopted by the founders of "St. Anthony's Bread."

"St. Anthony's Bread" is based upon the divine principle of charity. And such Christian charities as this, which has for its aim the care of the poor *without distinction as to race or creed*, not only provide a sovereign balm for all the carking cares of the unfortunate, but have also the happy effect of eliminating acrimony from the minds of men.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

THEN AND NOW.

NO DOUBT there were splendid specimens of humanity, both physically and intellectually, among the ancients. The Venus of Milo, the Apollo Belvidere, the Farnese Hercules were not evolved from the unassisted imagination. Even if they were so evolved, they who conceived such glorious ideals would themselves have represented a high type of mankind. The *Iliad* and the *Œdipus Tyrannus* are incontrovertible facts. Even among the earliest prehistoric races there must have been men of wonderful genius and energy. The man who kindled the first fire and broiled the first steak was the peer of any modern discoverer, and he who first smelted iron ore was the intellectual equal of Edison himself. The prehistoric discoverer of the Ecliptic was not surpassed in astronomical achievement even by him who ages afterwards formulated the Nebular Hypothesis, or by him who chemically analyzed the the stars. Some of us moderns are disposed to magnify unduly the triumphs of our day in comparison with those of former ages, forgetting that they who built the lower stories of the vast temple of human achievement are as worthy of praise as they who raised it to loftier heights. It is still far below its destined entablature; but even those whose privilege it shall be to place upon it its architectural crown in the sunlight of the upper air, will deserve no better of their race than those who laid its foundations in the darkness of the past.

Others are equally disposed to glorify unduly the past in comparison with the present. To them there have been no poets since Homer and Virgil, no orators since Demosthenes and Cicero, no philosophers since Socrates and Plato, no commanders since Alexander and Hannibal, no artists since Phidias and Apelles. To them only the dead languages are the fitting vehicles of

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beautiful and sublime thought. The modern tongues, in spite of Browning, Goëthe, Hugo, Tolstoï, Whitman, are, as Blackie called them, "but barbarous jargon."

Now I attach very little importance to the probable fact that, if the Iliad had been done for the first time in English, with all its picturesque power (with all deference to those who would insist upon the impossibility of such a feat), it would stand no chance whatever of acceptance by the great American publishers. Its rejection would, no doubt, be accompanied by the consoling statement, made in perfect good faith, that it was not on account of lack of literary merit, but simply because it was not suited to present needs. Possibly some slight hope of acceptance might be encouraged if the twenty-four books were condensed to twelve. And this, by the way, might not have been so absurd a suggestion as it might appear to the school of antiquity-worshippers, who regard every line of the immortal poem as sacred, to whom even the interminable "catalogue of ships" would not bear abbreviating, notwithstanding the manifest fact that the chief concern of the compiler was, lest he might inadvertently slight the skipper of one of the insignificant little boats. Imagine the whole Lilliputian fleet participating in the international naval review of two years ago! What would Agamemnon and Achilles have thought of those mighty dragons of modern warfare, breathing forth clouds and shaking the earth with their roar? Would not their trumpery Zeus and Ares have sunk into insignificance by comparison? But then, on the other hand, suppose the glowing imagination of the childhood of our race had been brought to bear upon the mechanical achievements of its manhood; suppose, for example, that Homer could have witnessed that grandest of all naval spectacles in the history of the world—should we not have had something more adequate in its commemoration than long-winded, gossipy newspaper reports and a few feeble rhymes in the magazines? Suppose, again, that the Blind Bard of Seven Cities could have visited the White City in 1893, would any magazine have rejected the epic he would have been constrained to write in favor of any little lyric or ode that it actually inspired?

But then we may have the epic yet, for poetry is not dead, even if the world has outgrown its glowing childhood.

Manifestly the world is aging far more rapidly than formerly, but it has not reached its decrepitude, as many seem to think. The time has not come for it to ignore the present and the future, and dwell only on the remote past, like the old dotard who sits by the fire and thinks only of the wonderful things he did when he was a boy.

Whether the individual man of to-day is, on the whole, naturally a finer, stronger, nobler being than his ancient progenitor, is a difficult question. Pessimists say he is a degenerate being in spite of his schoolhouses, his universities, and his oceanic literature; his telephones, his electric cars, and his world's fairs. As a superabundance of food does not necessarily produce highly developed bodies, so, they say, a superabundance of mental pabulum does not create intellectual giants. A man may travel over the whole civilized world, and return to his home with only a jaded interest in human achievements, with sensibilities only the more calloused to the novel, the ingenious, the beautiful, and the sublime. On the other hand, the optimist holds that each succeeding century has lifted the race to a higher plane of being; that, where a man is subject to more new impressions in a day than his remote ancestor received in a year, perhaps, his powers must necessarily

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develop more rapidly. This would, of course, be true if he retained his impressibility. An impression upon wax, however, and an impression upon marble are two very different things, as we learned in our First Reader in the primary school.

But whether the individual man has increased in stature or not, there is no denying that the race as a whole has grown from feeble infancy to vigorous manhood, and that every living member of it would vastly prefer his share in existence to that of one of Homer's contemporaries, classical enthusiasts to the contrary notwithstanding.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

COUNTRY ROADS AND TROLLEYS.

FROM the Colonial era till now the country roads in America have been a reproach to our civilization. Before the War of the Revolution plans were now and again discussed for bringing the various colonies into closer communion by means of well-located and well-constructed highways. In some of the colonies short stretches of good road uniting towns and settlements were built, but there was nothing like a comprehensive system of roads uniting the fringe of settlements along the Atlantic coast, which then constituted the populated part of the continent. The idea in England at that time was that road-making was a matter of purely local concern, and the application of this idea resulted so disastrously that people in one district would suffer for necessaries of life, when twenty miles away these very things in unneeded abundance would be perishing from decay. English ideas prevailed in the American colonies, and the roads remained unimproved.

After the War of the Revolution the men who had a genius for administration and the building up of commonwealths appeared to see with entire clearness that the States ought to be connected by a system of good roads, and that branches of these principal roads should unite the various parts of each State. Alexander Hamilton advocated road construction and improvement by the Federal and State governments, and Washington with his practical common sense, recommended that the opening, the making and the maintenance of roads be taken absolutely away from the local authorities. But less wise men could not see how the people of a city were interested in the roads in the country, and why those of one neighborhood should concern themselves about the roads twenty or fifty miles away, which they rarely if ever used. And so, as before the Revolution, the country highways continued, for something like half a century, to be controlled by the purely local authorities.

Meantime Napoleon had given to France a wonderful network of roads; and her agriculture and manufactures flourished notwithstanding unparalleled drains upon her for men and money. In England too the old parish and neighborhood idea of road construction had been in a great measure abandoned and roads after the plans of McAdam and Telford had been constructed nearly all over the kingdom. There was activity too in America and at last the principle was recognized by Congress and by several State legislatures that road-making was a matter for both Federal and State assistance. Several ambitious projects were discussed and the Federal government agreed to lend its aid to the construction of the National Road from tide water in Maryland to the navigable waters of the Ohio River.

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This work was started, but the plan was never carried out; and to this day the United States government is a defaulter in its obligations as to the building of this great road.

This abandonment of plans and abrogation of interest would not have been suffered, had it not been that the attention of the people was now directed towards another kind of highway—the steam railroad. The nervous and sanguine Americans of half a century ago were so sure that they would not need wagon roads any longer, as the railroads would serve their every purpose, that they permitted their long cherished plans for road improvement to be abandoned and these highways lapsed into the care of the local authorities who wreaked upon them an ignorant revenge. In the older time the local authorities merely neglected the roads. Now they "worked" them. Several times a year the road inspectors summoned the valetudinarians and other incapables to their assistance and at great expense they piled the dirt from the ditches and the sod from the banks into the middle of the roads, where these materials served to impede and almost entirely stop travel, till the kindly rains washed them back where they rightly belonged.

Less than ten years ago, however, a systematic agitation for the betterment of our country roads was begun, and the influence of this has been felt in every part of the country, while here and there in several of the States the roads of whole counties have been regraded, drained and paved according to the most modern ideas of highway engineers. The record would be most incomplete were it not noted that this agitation was begun, and in a great measure has been kept up by the bicycle riders of the country. For some years road improvement has been one of the most vital of the public questions, and has been discussed with ever increasing interest by State legislatures and county boards. In the aggregate, very little actual building has been done, but in fourteen or fifteen States more liberal road laws have been enacted, laws under which the improvement and maintenance of the roads are less difficult than hitherto. In several of the States laws have been passed under which, under certain conditions, State aid can be given for better roads, and under which also when taxpayers require it the county authorities are compelled to make the needed improvements. But always the road improvers have had bitterly to fight the theorists who maintained that this was a matter of purely local concern. But progress has been steady though not rapid, and in some counties of New Jersey and Pennsylvania many miles of excellently smooth McAdam pavement have been laid. And wherever this has been done the people soon became enthusiastic in the praise of these better highways, for before two seasons have passed in any such locality an unaccustomed prosperity has prevailed, and business activity has taken the place of that stolid patience which is generally a sad and discouraging characteristic of the country side.

But the movement is in sad danger, and more in need of friends than ever before. Just as the steam railroad came into being to kill the efforts of the road builders of a former generation, the trolley is with us now, and the extension of these electric railways menaces road improvement in more ways than one. If we abandon our efforts for better common roads with the idea that the trolleys will satisfy all our needs we will in time realize that the extension of trolley railroads makes good common roads all the more important and necessary, for the trolleys will quicken the life and the movement in the country and make any slow and laborious movements over bad roads more irksome than before. Whenever there is an available

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water power a trolley railroad can be operated at an expense ridiculously small when compared to that of the ordinary steam railroad. The country people of this and the growing generation do well to look forward to the trolley railroad as likely to do them immeasurable good. But a fatal mistake will be made if they act upon the idea that when the trolley is in every neighborhood the old highway will not be needed. The old fashioned road will be needed more than ever. The accomplishment of speed begets a demand for speed. People will not be content to labor and flounder through bogs and mudholes for half a mile because they can fly the remaining ten miles of their journey.

But the men who are engaged at present in extending trolley lines into the country are attempting a much greater wrong than that of the mere neglect of the improvement of the country roads. They are attempting to seize upon these roads and to convert them to their own uses. They appear to lie in wait to take possession of a country road so soon as it shall be put in excellent order for them. The unimproved roads are not nearly so eligible for trolley tracks, but the improved road with its easy grades, its excellent drainage and its McAdam pavement is a trolley roadbed ready made and waiting for the tracks. And so they beset the County Freeholders or County Commissioners for permission to lay these tracks by which, they say, the country people will get genuine rapid transit. More frequently than not the trolley managers get this permission without difficulty, and when the tracks are laid the improved road is ruined for ever. When trolley builders have failed to get the permission of the authorities they have exercised the right of eminent domain and have seized upon the country roads. But here, as also in the other method, they have evidently gone beyond any privilege warranted by law, for the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, in a recent case, has held that "the laws originally framed to provide transit by street railroads did not anticipate the conversion of suburban and rural roads into long lines of transportation, connecting widely separated cities. The streets of a city or borough are in the control of certain prescribed officials, who grant franchises with the consent of the mayor. The laws, however, very clearly confine the lines of transit within the city or borough limits. Township committees do not enjoy the power invested in city officials; the former have no power to grant the use of roads or subject them to a servitude for the benefit of any corporation."

It is desirable, to be sure, that trolleys should be near common roads, for then they are more easily accessible to those who are to use them; but they should not be over the pavement, nor yet between the pavement and either of the ditches into which the surface water drains. The pavement of a roadway is made for driving on, and the laying of railroad tracks of any kind ends that use quite effectually. Nor should the tracks be put between the pavement and the ditches, for the tracks would interfere with the surface drainage and the pavement and the whole roadbed would be ruined the first time there was a freeze. The side of the road beyond the ditches appears to be the place for trolley roads, for there they would be quite easy of access and not dangerous to life and to rights as sacred as life itself. But permission even for such locations should not be acquiesced in; the trolley builders should be compelled to acquire rights of way by lawful means.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

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